

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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A Stroll Around the Forum

A Picture Album

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A MAGAZINE INTERPRETING TO THE THOUGHTFUL TEACHER AND THE PUBLIC THE
SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT CLASSICAL CIVILIZATION IN ITS RELATION
TO MODERN LIFE

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DANCE FOR VICTORY (see Page 444)

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Volume 42 Number 8

MAY 1947

The vintners of ancient Greece packed their wines for export in large jars, stamped with a dated endorsement———lucky finds at any excavation.

Wine Jars

By Virginia Grace



"**B**READ AND FISH, with the addition of olive-oil and wine, formed in ancient times the most substantial parts of the diet of the people, rich and poor." This will probably not be news to most readers of *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, but it bears repetition to Americans, since the diet as a whole is particularly strange to us. As for wine, we are apt to think of it as something which adds style to a

dinner party; or possibly as a rather tedious means of getting drunk. It is hard to realize that for the ancient Greeks and Romans, who drank it regularly mixed with a good deal of water, it was practically the only beverage (except plain water), and the only stimulant or relaxing agent in common use, replacing not only our alcoholic drinks but also our tea and coffee, our cola drinks, our morning orange



FIGURE 1. MODERN TERRACED VINEYARD IN CYPRUS. NOVEMBER 9, 1941.

juice, our smokes. It may interest the reader to know that modern Greeks and Turks commonly speak of "drinking" tobacco: in refusing a cigarette, the answer may be, "Thank you, but I don't drink."

Modern Greeks like to drink plenty of tea and coffee, and those who live in large towns know also beer, which in ancient times was not used much outside of Egypt. But wine remains an important commodity, and grapevines grow in plantations rather than in arbors. FIGURE 1 shows the terraced vineyards on the foothills south of Mount Troödos in the island of Cyprus. Note for scale a large tree at the foot of the terraces; sheep grazing nearby may perhaps be made out. The photograph was taken in November, when the vines have shrivelled. In July their foliage is brilliant against the chalk-white volcanic soil chosen for wine growing. The little boy in FIGURE 2 does not belong with vineyards on this scale, but shows the essentials of how the juice is extracted, after which it awaits fermentation in large stationary receptacles.

Grapes grow in most parts of the Greek world, and packaging for local transportation of wine was and is readily available to peasants and landed gentry: a bag made of the skin of a goat, or other domestic animal, turned inside out (the hair inside!) and tied off at the neck (FIGURE 3). However, then as now there were certain regions which produced wine of a superior quality, in demand outside its country of manufacture. Also, then as now, large cities had to be supplied by shipments from some distance. So, to some extent, did large armies, and, of course, sea-borne travellers. Clearly, for such purposes one wants a container that can be produced freely and need not be returned. For those days, the answer was obviously clay jars. These are the *amphiphoreis* stowed away by Telemachos (*Odyssey* 2.290, 349, 379) and the *cadi* full of Sicilian wine broached by the Trojans on the shore before Carthage (*Aeneid* 1.195). They are the ten thousand *keramia* which brought wine from Rhodes to supply the besieged people of Sinope in about 220 B.C. (Polybius 4.56) and the Knidian and

—Frontispiece

DANCE FOR VICTORY

OUR FRONTISPIECE is a Greek terracotta statuette made at Myrina in Asia Minor at some time after 200 B.C. Such statuettes are often called "Tanagra" after the town in mainland Greece where they were first excavated in the 1870's. In our grandfathers' day, novelists mentioned Tanagras on mantelpieces in subtle indication of refinement; today, most fine examples are in public museums. This one is in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

Nike, goddess of victory, is dancing. The poses of her head and arms are definitely terpsichorean, but she cannot stand on her toes and must be suspended as if in flight. Fingers are broken and pastel colors have almost vanished. There once were movable wings in slits behind the shoulders. The *peplos* is buttoned on the shoulders, girt be-

low the arms, and open at the right, exposing the leg. The drapery billows back in accord with a formula to indicate speedy motion. There are sandals on the feet and earrings in the ears.

Greek terracottas were mass-produced by means of partial moulds. In this case, skirt and torso come from one mould; head, arms, left foot, and right leg and foot from separate moulds. The moulded parts were put together while the clay was still wet, the fluttering drapery beside the right thigh was hand-modelled, and then the whole figure was dried, baked and painted. Other Myrina artists used the same mould for the body. By raising the arms and tilting the head up or down, they made Nike stop dancing and concentrate on flying.

DOROTHY KENT HILL



FIGURE 2. TRAMPLING THE GRAPES, CENTRAL GREECE. Photograph by Sara Anderson Immerwahr.

Coan *keramia* listed in the inscribed temple accounts of Delos and in papyrus records from the docks of Alexandria. They are the little Thasian jars of Aristophanes.

(Virginia Grace is a research archaeologist who has lived and traveled much in the Near and Middle East since 1927. She has been on the staffs of excavations in Cyprus, Central Greece, Cilicia, and Athens. She has published briefly on Greek Sculpture, and at more length on finds in Cyprus with reference to Early Bronze Age chronology, but she has been chiefly concerned with a study of stamped amphoras, based at first on material found at the Agora excavations in Athens. Her doctorate was taken at Bryn Mawr College in 1934. She held a Guggenheim fellowship in 1938-39, and is at present a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey, proceeding with publication which had been interrupted by war service.

To the ancients these vessels were as familiar as milk bottles are to Americans of today. To us, archaeology presents them, either drawn or modelled by those who saw them in use, or actually preserved, whether by sudden disaster in house or shop (FIGURE 4), or by careful provision in a tomb (FIGURE 5), where we find them empty of the stores supplied for the soul's journey. The jar used for shipping wine and other fluids shows certain fixed characteristics: two opposed handles; a relatively narrow neck; and no flat base, but usually a tip which could be used as an extra handle. Its height is usually somewhat under three feet and its capacity five to eight gallons. Its mouth was sealed by a stopper: see *Odyssey* 2.353. FIGURE 7 shows a rather late sealing made of plaster which was "slapped into and over the mouth of the amphora," as described by the editor of these notes, who has seen many examples in museums in the Middle East.

The lack of a firm flat resting surface seems at first a puzzling disadvantage. But hard flat floors were much less common then than they are with us, and unlikely to be found in store-rooms or on shipboard, much less on sandy beaches or other similar bivouacs. The jars were embedded in sand or set in hollows made in an earth floor or among stones in the open, or between thwarts in the curving hull of a ship. They were slung by means of ropes: this is illustrated in a vase-painting recently published, which shows a boy running with a pair of amphoras slung one from either end of a sort of yoke across his shoulders. In this case we may guess that the jars are supposed to be empty or partly so, since a full jar may weigh fifty or seventy-five pounds. The weight makes the additional handhold at the bottom a convenience in pouring.

FIGURE 5 may be a little confusing to those not experienced in excavations: the jars, and a narrow-necked jug, lie at a higher level than the human remains, ornaments, and toilet articles. They had apparently been floated on repeated flood waters, since the tomb was cut in faulty rock in the neighborhood of a winter torrent. The rock finally gave way, smashing the jars, which were covered with debris.



FIGURE 3. TRANSPORTATION OF WINE IN SKINS, DELPHI. Photograph by Agnes Newhall Stillwell.

FIGURE 6 shows them repaired. Except perhaps for the small one to the right, which may belong to a later burial than the others, they are probably to be dated rather over a century earlier than those in the shop in Herculaneum (FIGURE 4), or at about the time when Cicero voyaged to his post in Cilicia and felt the force of Aegean summer winds in an "aphractum Rhodiorum." The pair of jars in the middle of the picture are Rhodian, fully distinguishable by their shape and clay. Their similarity does not indicate lack of imagination in the potter, but deliberate effort: he would have liked to make them look as much alike as two five-gallon Standard Oil cans. For these jars were standard containers of their place and time. The content of an amphora was a recognized unit by which liquid quantities and capacities (including ship tonnages) were expressed.

A gauging rod will not work for this type of container. There is no quicker fairly accurate method of checking the capacity of a particular amphora than to fill it with water

until the porous clay will drink no more, and then empty it into a measure. Obviously this would not be a practicable way to deal with tens of thousands of containers. On the other hand, a skilled and experienced potter can produce something very close to uniformity if he has good reason to do so. A kind of marking found on the handles of many of the jars seems to have been devised to bring the responsibility home to the potteries. This is what one finds:

Stamps were impressed on the soft clay of the vessel before it was fired in the kiln. Generally they marked the jars (see FIGURE 8) with two names, one that of a potter or pottery commissioner, the other that of a local official (his title is often given) whose term presumably represented a date: the most numerous series, the Rhodian, adds also the name of a month. Devices appear as private signets of one or other of the two persons named, like the caduceus which here accompanies the name Hephaistion. A few hundreds of the stamped jars have been preserved

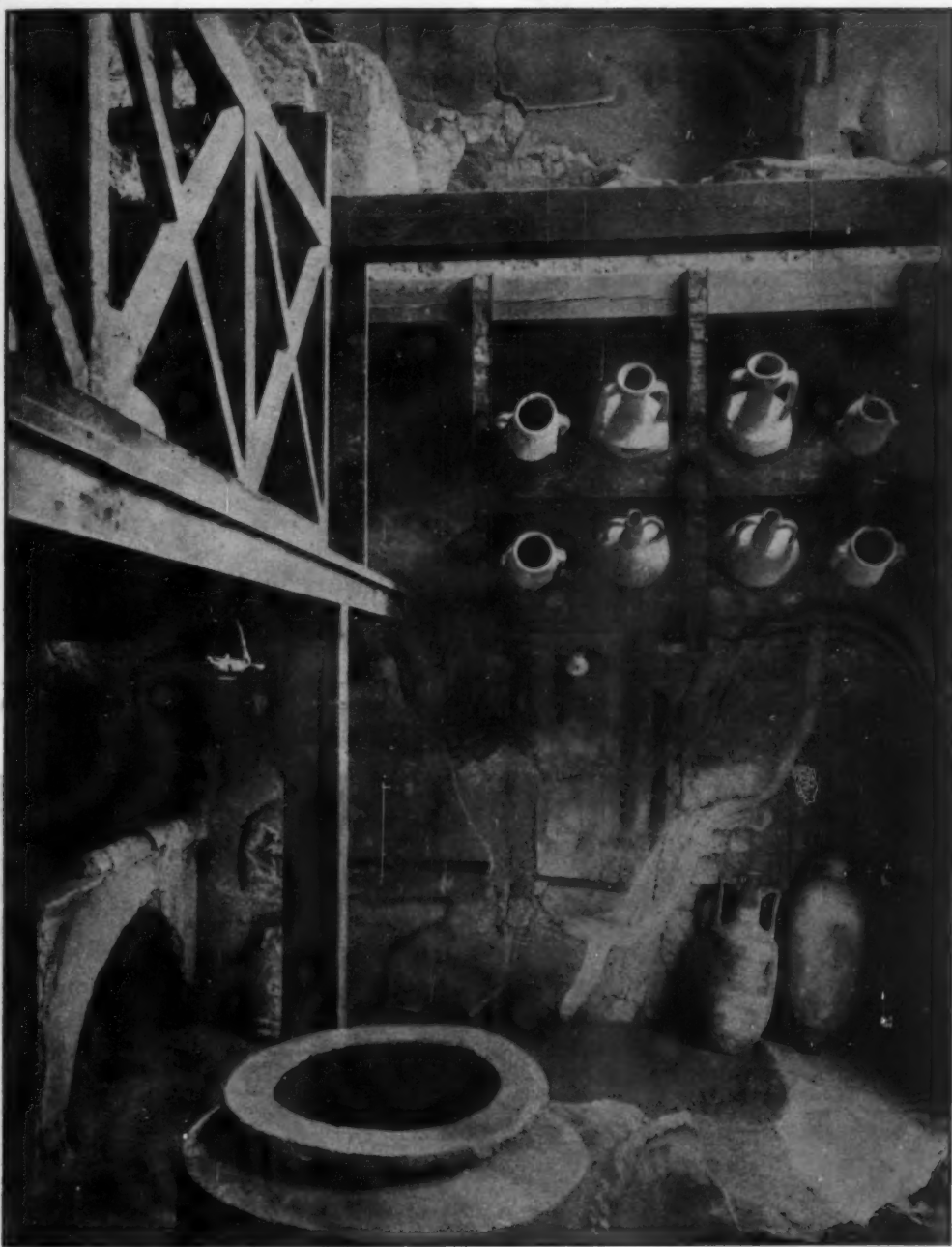


FIGURE 4. TWO-HANDLED CLAY JARS, OR AMPHORAS, AS FOUND IN A SHOP OF 70 A.D. IN HERCULANEUM: "A SHOP, MORE COMPLETE THAN ANY AT POMPEII, WITH 'ALL THE WOODEN FURNISHINGS OF A ROMAN HOUSE ALMOST INTACT'—SHOWING THE FIREPLACE, OIL-LAMP, AMPHORAS ON SHELVES, AND A BOWL OF BEANS ON THE COUNTER." From a report by Dr. A. Maiuri, published in *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 11, 1933, and reprinted by permission. —————>



FIGURE 5. AMPHORAS IN A GRAECO-ROMAN TOMB AT CURIUM, CYPRUS. Photograph by George H. McFadden, published by permission of the Curium Excavations of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.



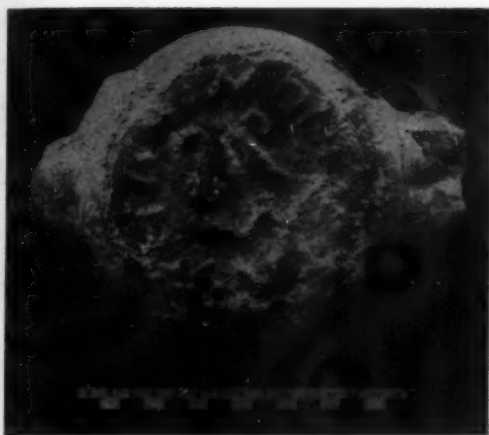


FIGURE 7. STAMPED PLASTER STOPPER FOR WINE JAR. FOUND AT MEROË (ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN) IN 1922 IN THE JOINT EXCAVATIONS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS. THE SCALE MARKS OFF 15 CENTIMETERS, JUST UNDER 6 INCHES. Photograph by courtesy of the Museum.

whole or in large part. Among them one can distinguish, by measuring the capacity, standards varying with date and locality. Some local classes are labelled explicitly on their stamps, by a word such as "Knidian" (see FIGURE 9, upper left corner), or by the state's arms, the same device used to identify local coins, which may be a sponsoring god or hero or an object of local significance, like the maple leaf on Canadian pennies. Other jars seem to have been sufficiently distinguished by shape and clay, without the label. We find the different kinds mentioned by name in ancient records, as now one may mention specifically an "Imperial gallon," or a "Georgia gallon." The jars were issued by shipping and transshipping centers, chiefly of wine, though they were used also for oil and eventually for a number of other fluid or semi-fluid commodities. According to identified stamps, the leading Greek sources seem to have been Thasos, Rhodes, Knidos, perhaps Cos, and two or three Black Sea ports.

Not all shipping jars were stamped. In FIGURE 5, only one bears stamps, the Rhodian to the right, next to the small jar. The proportion of stamped to unstamped, and the reasons for the distinction, are at present a matter of guesswork.

Although relatively few of the whole stamped jars have come down to us, the handle fragments bearing the stamps are very common finds. Close to a hundred thousand have already been collected, by thousands in certain great markets of antiquity, such as Athens and Alexandria (cf. FIGURE 9), by smaller lots in many other ancient sites from Spain to Persia, from Memphis south of the Great Pyramids to Kiev in Russia, and from the interior of Rumania, and from central Turkey. Many have been found by archaeologists investigating ancient settlements. The whole jars are often found in tombs.

It is entirely possible to work out closely and reliably the dates of most of these jars and stamped fragments. Their subsequent value may be touched upon. The handles as finds will give excavators unusually precise points after which deposits including them must be dated, and will provide information on trade penetration which will justify comparative statistics. The lists of dated, sometimes titled, names will contribute vastly to our records of citizens of the issuing states. The stamp sequences will afford data on letter forms, dialects, the Greek calendar; they will help to explain usages obtaining on coins as well as stamps; and the fashions in names and devices will be found to reflect events, and trends in popular sympathy. Capacity figures on specific containers, in combination with ancient business records in which the containers are mentioned, will provide otherwise unavailable information on the price of wine, "extremely important on account of its relation both to the cost of living and to the question of the profits to be derived from agriculture."

There is a good deal of work to do before we can organize the material so that it will

FIGURE 6. THE AMPHORAS FROM THE TOMB, FIGURE 5, REPAIRED. (THE JAR FIRST ON THE LEFT DOES NOT SHOW IN FIGURE 5.)

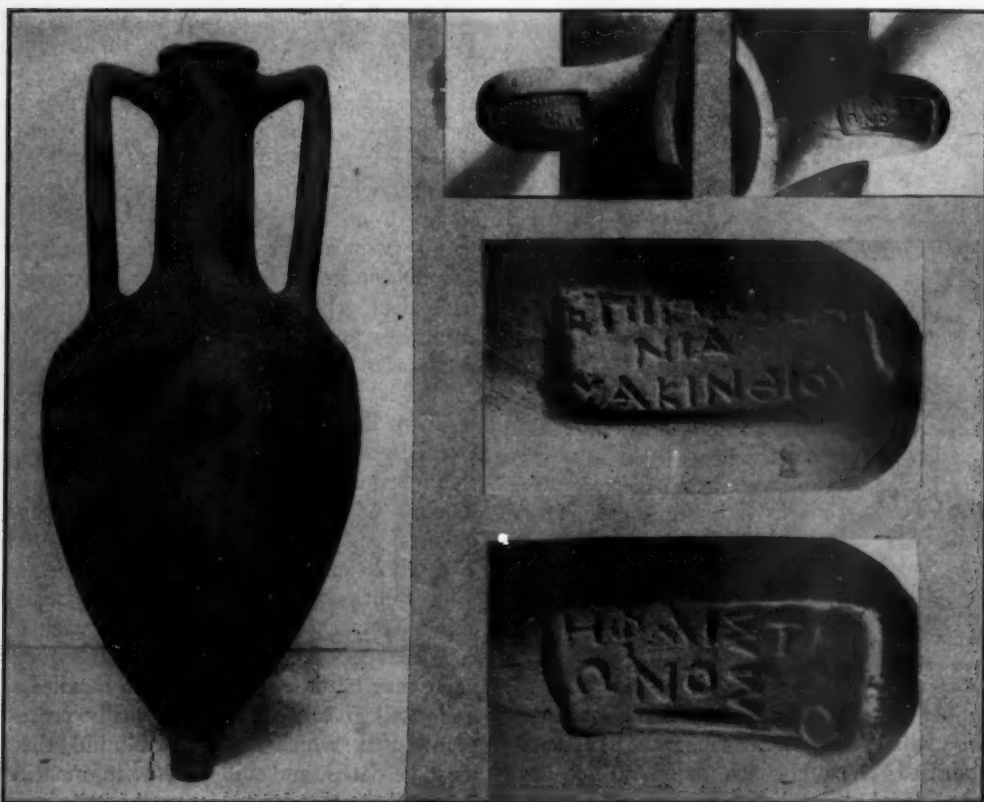


FIGURE 8. RHODIAN JAR MADE BETWEEN 180 AND 150 B.C., NOW IN THE MUSEUM, NICOSIA, CYPRUS. FOUND PROBABLY IN A TOMB IN CYPRUS. THE JAR IS ENDORSED BY HEPHAISTION (WITH CADUCEUS AS SIGNET) AND DATED IN THE TERM OF PAUSANIAS, THE MONTH HYAKINTHIOS. THE HEIGHT OF THE JAR IS JUST UNDER 2 FEET, 8 INCHES; THE CAPACITY JUST OVER $7\frac{1}{2}$ UNITED STATES GALLONS. Published by permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. The small photographs show where the stamps were applied; below, they are shown at actual size.

become fully informative. In the meanwhile, some comment from what we "know in part" may interest the general reader.

FIGURE 9 presents a sampling of the many thousands of stamped handles which have been found in Alexandria. The finder of this group is a businessman, one of whose hobbies is to collect this kind of stamps. On the outskirts of the city are earth mounds, ancient rubbish heaps, which have a new surface after every heavy rain. Here the collector goes

"mushrooming," and his total harvest is already three thousand or more. The earliest of those illustrated is probably the Thasian handle (left, center) with double-axe as device; this may date a little before 300 B.C. Thasian amphoras were stamped before 400 B.C., but we do not expect to find fragments of the early ones in Alexandria. Above the Thasian handle are shown two Knidian handles of probably not far from 200 B.C. The anchor and steering-oar used as signets by

FIGURE 9. IN ALEXANDRIA: SOME OF THE STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES FOUND BY MR. LOUKAS BENACHI. From photographs provided by Mr. Benachi. About one-third actual size. —————>





FIGURE 10. EAST GREEK AMPHORA STAMPS OF ABOUT 100 B.C., FOUND IN THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA. THE LOWER LEFT ITEM WAS ISSUED BY A BLACK SEA PORT CITY, PROBABLY SINOPE, THE OTHERS BY KNIDOS. Photographs by H. Wagner and Alison Frantz. About actual size.

Eukrates and Aristandros on these handles may be associated with the worship at Knidos of Aphrodite Euploia ("Fair-voyage"), whose head appears on Knidian coins. The rest of the handles are Rhodian, the devices where they exist being the state's arms, the rose or the radiate head of the sun-god Helios, both of which appear on the coins of Rhodes.

The seated lion in FIGURE 10, the lower left stamp, is the proper device of the *astynomos* (police official) Mantitheos, son of Protagoras, whose name and title can be restored beside it. The base below its feet suggests it is a monument, like the lion at Chaeronea, or the one reconstructed at Amphipolis shortly before the war. Stamps bearing the names of *astynomoi*, evidently made in Black Sea Greek ports, are found in large quantities near the Black Sea, and have been the subject of many reports, a fine illustrated catalogue, and a fine

study by Russian scholars. Very few are found in Athens. The three Knidian stamps in FIGURE 10 belong to a series dated by the discovery of many examples in the sweepings left in Athens after the destruction by Sulla. The devices are the forepart of a lion, a facing bull's head, garlanded, and a cluster of grapes. These are all Knidian coin devices, though I have not found their matches on coins in just this form at this period.

The interested reader is referred to my article "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World," to be published in the forthcoming Supplement VIII of *Hesperia*, the Shear Memorial volume. The quotation which opens the present paper comes from Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), through the index of which one can find most of the publications on stamped jars.

ILLINOIS CLASSICAL CONFERENCE

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL meeting of the Illinois Classical Conference was held at the Continental Hotel, Chicago, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, February 13, 14, and 15. Two hundred and twelve members attended the meetings.

On Thursday evening at a joint meeting with the Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, George Mylonas of Washington University, St. Louis, gave an illustrated lecture on "Crete at the Dawn of History." Professor Mylonas spoke of the contribution of Crete to the cause of liberty and learning and stated that on that island there existed perhaps the most brilliant civilization of the prehistoric age.

"Classical Literary Patterns" was the theme of the Friday morning meeting with papers by Alexander Turyn of the University of Illinois, Joy Belle Kerler, senior student at Knox College, and James Sternberg of Carthage College.

Friday afternoon was devoted to "Latin in the High School Curriculum." Mima Maxey of the University of Chicago advocated an early introduction of reading. Sister Olivia of St. Teresa's Academy, East St. Louis, pointed out that an extensive use of the library was a very valuable aid in the teaching of Latin. Mark Hutchinson of Cornell College spoke on the subject "Can High School Students Learn to Read Latin?" and advocated early and interesting reading material with a cut in the vocabulary burden. Reading exercises, he proposed, should match the high school student in sophistication and afford an intellectual challenge. Clyde Murley of Northwestern University said that the usual first

year book is too miscellaneous for a class period. Better results could be obtained by a focus on connected reading in class and by a presentation of vocabulary with etymologically related forms. In speaking of the "Classics in Tomorrow's Education," Walter Agard of the University of Wisconsin suggested the following values for the study of the Classics:

1. A rich background in space and time.
2. An awakening to chief contemporary problems.
3. A development of methods of critical judgment.
4. A relating of general education to the individual's vocation.

In her presidential address Saturday morning, Mary Jeanette Munce of Bloomington High School spoke of the many contributions of a study of Latin to everyday activities.

Ben Perry of the University of Illinois spoke on "The Ancient Attitude Towards Fiction" and Benedict Einarson of the University of Chicago had as his topic "Metaphor."

The conference ended with a joint meeting with the Chicago Classical Club at which Father James J. Mertz of Loyola University read a paper on "Aurea Mediocritas."

Of special interest was the report by Irene J. Crabb of the Evanston Township High School that the Illinois Latin Tournament would be started again this year. Northwestern University was host for the finals on May 3. Full tuition scholarships have been obtained from Knox, Rosary, and Mundelein Colleges, Northwestern University, and the Universities of Chicago and Illinois.

INCREASED SUBSCRIPTION RATES

The publishers of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL regret that, because of greatly increased printing costs, it is necessary to raise the price of subscriptions. In the past five years the publishers have absorbed steadily rising costs; these have now reached the point where it is necessary to pass them along to our readers. Members of regional classical associations will be informed of the new rates by their several Secretary-Treasurers.

—Note

SOPHOCLES' ANTIGONE 1232, AGAIN

PROFESSOR S. Johnson, with his usual courtesy, has sent me a copy of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL for May, 1946, containing his comment on the above passage. I deprecate, if anything, more strongly even than he does all attempts to arrive at a conclusion concerning the meaning of an ancient author by purely subjective criteria of taste or dramatic effect. It is not for us to impose our notions of what is fitting upon classical writers, but, by careful study of their words, to find out what their feelings on such subjects were and note, if necessary, that they are not the same as ours. If, therefore, we would learn whether Haemon is represented as literally spitting in his father's face or not, it is best to study carefully the meaning and construction of the verbs *πτύειν* and *ἀποπτύειν*. Liddell-Scott-Jones furnishes enough material, I think, to determine this fully.

Apart from the curious medical sense "excite the salivary glands," found apparently once only in the Hippocratic corpus, the meanings are four: (1) Literally to spit, whether (a) as a means of getting rid of something undesirable in the mouth or (b) as a magical gesture, which may be of self-abasement, as in Theocr. 6, 39, or in order to be rid of some ill-omened but immaterial thing, such as a haunting presentiment or a bad dream, as in Aesch., 980; (2), (a) to throw out foam or spray, an obvious derivative of (1) (a), and used of such things as waves or oars, and (b) to reject with loathing or contempt, a use derived rather from (1) (b). Of these uses, I can find none which does not give the verb an object, expressed or readily to be supplied from the context, except (1) (a) and (b). Several examples of (2) (b) are given by Professor Johnson in his note 19. I may add one from the *Antigone* itself, 653-654:

ἀλλὰ πτύσας ὥσει τε δυσμενῇ μέθης
τὴν παῖδ' ἐν "Αἰδου τήνδε νυμφεύειν τινί.

This I interpret as meaning "but spitting (her) forth and (treating her) as an enemy,

let this girl go and find a husband among the dead." However, the participle may have its literal meaning; Haimon is perhaps to perform the ritual gesture of getting rid of his proposed marriage and all that goes with it. When a dramatist makes a character say *ἀπέπτυσσα*, the object is easy to supply. In Eur., *Hipp.* 614, Hippolytus "spits out" the idea that Phaedra or the Nurse can be his friend; in *Hec.* 1286, Hecuba does the same to Polymestor's statement that Cassandra will die; in *I.T.* 1161, Iphigenia, asked τί καὶ νῦν, begins by formally "spitting out" (δοῖα γὰρ δίδωμι, ἔπος τὸδε) the unwelcome "strange thing" which is disturbing the *pax deorum*.

Now if, in *Ant.* 1232, *πτύσας* is metaphorical, clearly it comes under (2) (b). Where, then, is its object? Where, also, is the preposition with which it should be compounded, to make it quite clear that Haemon is getting rid of something, not literally or figuratively spitting upon it? He might indeed have been represented as saying *ἀπέπτυσσα*, "I want none of your suppliant appeals," referring to verse 1230, but this cannot be got out of the Greek.

I therefore prefer, despite the opinion of many, including the Scholiast (does he depend on Alexandrian or Byzantine ideas of τό ἀπρεπές?) to take the word as literal; and, if an aesthetic judgement may after all be added, I think this gives more force to the whole description and that it strengthens, not weakens οὐδὲν ἀντειπὼν. Sophocles perhaps remembered, whether his audience was supposed to do so or not, verse 653, and Haemon's gesture may be meant to be equivalent to a rejection of his sonship. He will not "spit" Antigone out, but his father, who is now an enemy to be killed, not a kinsman to whom one may speak.

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Do you really speak English?

What Language Do You Speak?

Fred S. Dunham

THE ENGLISH language has been in the process of making for many centuries. If we view the scene through long-range bifocals, we see that this process is coextensive with the history of Western civilization. So many accretions has our language gathered in the course of time that I can think of no better analogy than that of a river system. The Mississippi River, to be specific, gathers its waters from many tributaries, several of which are longer or greater in volume than the main stream above the point of confluence. The house-boat dweller who catches shrimps in the bayous of Louisiana is unaware of the nature of the waters which supply his livelihood. The farmer who lives along the levee knows only the river's power in times of flood. The explorer who has traced the main stream and its tributaries to their sources has a better understanding of the river's secrets. But only the potamologist can analyze a bucket of the water and tell us with reasonable accuracy where it comes from. In the same manner, the linguistic scientist, who understands the historical development of the

English language, can determine the source of its structure and vocabulary. The main ingredients of our language, he tells us, derive from Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Greek.

I

OUR LACK of knowledge of the historical development of the English language is amazing. To the man on the street the blind spot is total. Newspaper columnists and especially sports reporters write a jargon of slang and false metaphors. Few college graduates know the source of the language which they speak. High-school teachers and alas! college professors are not too familiar with the vocabulary of the life that goes on outside their specialized fields. Lexicographers and philologists, who are supposed to know the most about the history of a language—its phonology, etymology and semantics, are the most modest of all because they are aware of the gaps in the faulty records.

The origin of many words and word-meanings is unknown. But we can readily see how the words arise in the imitative chatter of little children, in the lingo of the gangster and gambler, and in the expressive slang of soldiers and college students. Words that are familiar to the older generation are obsolete ten or twenty years later. If we scan the newspapers of the first world war, we find that some of the words then used are not understood by the youth of today. In the same manner the speech of the men who have recently seen service in the armed forces will be a foreign language to their grandchildren.

So rapidly and almost imperceptibly does the spoken language change that we are now making a distinction between the English and American languages. The divergence may be seen in differences of pronunciation; e.g. *schedule* which the British pronounce *shedule*, and *laboratory* which they pronounce *labôra-*

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tory—in differences of usage, such as *lift* for *elevator*, *corn* for *grain*, *sock suspender* for *garter*, and many other words which our soldiers learned to use during their brief sojourn in England.

These changes which are taking place under our very eyes enable us to see how modern languages have developed. Of special interest to teachers of Latin are the Romance languages—French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Rumanian, the language which grew up in that country after its conquest by Rome under the Emperor Trajan. Of these modern languages, French has had the most influence on our English language, although we are under no little obligation to Spanish and Italian.

It is extremely important when we consider the Romance languages to keep in mind the fact that their structure, pronunciation, and spelling are the outgrowth of oral usage extending over a long period of time when people could not read and write. While the vernacular was already taking shape under Charlemagne (800 A.D.), it remained for the invention of printing to give the language of the people definite form. Throughout this long period of time the language of the educated classes was Latin.

The English Language

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE is even more complex than the Romance languages. Before the Norman conquest the language spoken by the illiterate masses in Britain was for the most part Anglo-Saxon. Those who know their Shakespeare and the King James version of the Bible are aware that this vigorous, masculine element in our language survived long after the Norman conquest. Here was the language of yeomen who lived close to nature—of the earth earthy—men who did not mince words, because they had no other words than those which related to their grim and realistic daily life. Many of these words still survive in the daily speech of the Kentucky Hills and the Ozarks, and they constitute the private vocabulary of our lowest social strata.

Growing literacy among the common people has brought about a change in the character of our printed literature. The "best sellers" now freely use words which were formerly in good repute among the common people but came to be regarded as vulgar and obscene after the Renaissance enriched and dignified the English language by substituting words of Latin and Greek derivation. These Anglo-Saxon words are still labeled obscene, vulgar, or illiterate in the dictionaries. The late Professor Thomas A. Knott, General Editor of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, tells of a courageous candidate for the Ph.D. who collected an enormous number of vulgar and obscene words from the graffiti scribbled on outhouses and toilets. These words were found to be almost entirely Anglo-Saxon.

Whatever our reaction may be to these findings, we are obliged to admit our indebtedness to Latin and Greek, which have ennobled and refined our native tongue by giving us words that dignify the parts and functions of the human body. These are the words which constitute the vocabulary of physicians and scientists and educated people. Are they too good for writers of our literature? Were it not for Latin, our English language would be a sorry and disgusting lingo that would label us as barbarians in the eyes of civilized nations. Do we need to say more to prove that we need Latin in a public-school curriculum which is designed to raise the cultural level of the common people? What do these men mean who rub their hands with glee whenever in a conference they hear of some school where Latin has been dropped and shout to their professional brothers, "Gentlemen, Latin is on the way out"? What hope is there for the improvement of education if the leaders lend encouragement to the present-day trend toward cheapness and vulgarity? Shall the blind lead the blind?

No modern foreign language can be an adequate substitute for Latin. Latin is not a foreign language for us English-speaking people; it is English. Latin is not a foreign language for the French people; it is French.

Nor is it a foreign language for Spanish people; it is Spanish. Latin not only constitutes the ennobling ingredients in all of these languages, but it provides the common element which enables us to understand one another. It is the tap root from which we draw the sustenance of our common intellectual culture. If we cut this root, the branches will wither and die. One touch of Ancient Rome and all the world's akin.

II

MORE THAN HALF of the words in the English language have come from other sources than native English. About eighty per cent of these borrowed words come from Latin, either directly or indirectly through another language.¹ Although this process of absorption has been somewhat intermittent, yet fairly continuous and progressively increasing over a period of twenty centuries, we can readily discern in our long history five periods which are marked by pronounced changes in the character and volume of Latin-derived words. These periods are:

- (1) The period of direct contact with the Romans: From Caesar's invasion of Britain in 55 B.C. to the withdrawal of the Romans in 410 A.D.
- (2) The period of German occupation when Christianity was introduced by Augustine (597) and missionaries from Rome.
- (3) The period of Norman occupation and subsequent Parisian French influence: From the Norman conquest (1066) to Chaucer (1400).
- (4) The period of the Renaissance: During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.
- (5) The period of modern times: From the early seventeenth century to the present time.

FIRST PERIOD: *From Caesar's Invasion (55 B.C.) to the Withdrawal of the Romans (410 A.D.)*


THE PERIOD extending from Caesar's first invasion of Britain (55 B.C.) to 410 A.D., when the Romans withdrew their troops in order

to protect the northern boundary of the Empire, was a period of direct contact with the Roman people. Caesar's invasion stimulated trade with the Britons, and Roman influence was spread by native chiefs who had served in Caesar's army and spoke Latin. Roman military occupation began a century later in the reign of Claudius.

The Roman camps and colonies permanently located at various places in England during the next three centuries contributed many words to our language. These words for the most part are military, geographical and commercial. Examples are: place names ending in *-caster* and *-chester* (from *castra*, camp), in fact the word "camp"; the word "colony" and its termination in words like "Lincoln"; *fossa*, trench, appearing in "Fosbrooke"; *vallum* in "Walton" and "wall"; and *portus*, harbor, in "Portsmouth" and numerous place names ending in "port." The paved roads (*strata*), portions of which may still be seen, give us our word "street," and the word appears as a prefix in "Stratford" and "Stratton." The milestone, which told the wayfarer how many thousands (*mille*) of paces he had traveled, gave us our word "mile," and we still measure lumber "per M." Our word "pound" (from *pondus*, weight) and the abbreviation "lb" for *libra*, the scales used in weighing, are evidence of the thoroughness of the Romans in their commercial transactions.

Direct Roman Influence

THE ROMAN military forces were obliged to abandon Britain after an occupation of three and a half centuries, but they left behind them a Celtic people with whom they had intermarried and lived as neighbors. They had built numerous cities—Lincoln, London, York, Canterbury, Bath, Chester, Carlisle, and St. Albans. At St. Albans, where Alban was executed by Diocletian because he refused to worship the Emperor, you can see the remains of a Roman theatre, the only one yet found in Britain. You can still walk on the massive stone walls of some of these cities and admire the towers and city gates. In the museum at York you can see a coiffure of

auburn hair that once graced the head of a British Roman maiden, numerous toilet articles, kitchen utensils, farm tools, implements of surgeons and dentists, and evidences of the Christian religion in the Chi-Rho () inscription alongside objects of devotion to pagan gods. The extensive remains of the Roman baths at Aqua Sulis (modern Bath) arouse our awe and admiration for a people who gave a touch of luxury to this remote frontier of Roman civilization.

During this early period, Roman life was not confined to colonies and towns. The Romans over-spread the countryside, where they cut down the forests, cultivated the land and built farm houses in the style of the Roman villa, with an open court and always a large bath house which had running water and provision for heating with hollow tile. More than a hundred of these Roman villas have been found. I have seen several of them and admired their spaciousness and their artistic mosaic floors.

These are the evidences of early Roman occupation. But Britain was not destined for direct Roman rule under Roman law. As a result of the withdrawal of Roman military government, Britain was left free to develop a basic language and literature of her own—the language of new invaders from Germany and Denmark. However, it is well to remember that the island was not to be cut off from Graeco-Roman influence; for Christian missionaries from Rome were to come in increasing numbers.

SECOND PERIOD: *The Period of Anglo-Saxon Occupation*

THE SCHOOL BOY is familiar with the story of Gregory, who, upon seeing some fair-haired Angles exposed for sale in Rome, said, "They are not Angles, but angels." Could he have known that the Angles sold their own children into slavery? At any rate, when he became Pope, he sent Augustine and forty missionaries to Britain, little realizing that this event was destined to change the course of English life and culture. During the late sixth and the seventh centuries Augustine and his followers enriched Anglo-Saxon by

introducing many Greek and Latin words. It should be noted, however, that some of the words of Latin origin included in the vocabulary of this period may have been acquired by the Teutonic invaders either from the Britons whom they had conquered or through contact with Roman traders before they came to England. Words belonging to the latter category will be discussed later. The following lists reveal the nature of the words attributed to the influence of the Roman missionaries:²

Words relating to the church and religion: *abbot, alms, altar, angel, apostle, bishop, cathedral, chalice, chapter, church, clerk, creed, deacon, grief, hymn, mass, minister, monk, pope, priest, school.*

New names of things known or previously unknown relating to Roman culture. Toller has compiled about three hundred words of this class, which relate to utensils, wearing apparel, plants, trees, animals, etc. Some of these words are: *balsam, box (the tree), camel, candle, chalk, cheese, copper, elephant, fever, fig, fork, gem, lettuce, lily, linen, lion, marble, palm, peach, pear, plant, poppy, rose, seine, spade, table, tile.*

While the contribution of the missionaries is significant, it is well to keep in mind that the entire period of six centuries, extending from the time of the Teutonic invasions to the coming of the Normans, was a crude age when the Angles, Saxons, and Danes were engaged in constant warfare both with the native Celts and with one another. They finally triumphed over the native Celtic King Arthur and his knights, and the Angles ultimately gave their name to the people and their language, and to the country itself. The love for independence and freedom on the part of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors has led historians and Anglophiles to a gross exaggeration of their character. They were, in fact, stolid, rough, barbarous, ignorant, outspoken, fearless and cruel. Theirs were the brawn and endurance, the sinew and red blood that provided the physical sturdiness for the spiritual and intellectual refinement which was to come later.

The language of the Angles and Saxons was Teutonic. The period of their rule fixed

the general structure of the English language, and gave us our vocabulary of everyday life—such simple words as *come, go, run, sleep, eat, house, horse, cow, dog, cat*; and about a hundred common names for parts of the body, such as *eye, nose, ear, bone, skin*. Of the five hundred words most commonly used in English, three hundred and sixty are Anglo-Saxon, while only seventy-two are Latin and eight Greek. "An inspection of these five hundred words seems to show them to be such as are used in expressing the simplest sense perceptions of physical wants, but ill-adapted, without aid from less used words, for expressing more complex thoughts."³

In addition to the geographical and commercial words which the Romans themselves had left behind in Britain, there is evidence that the Angles and Saxons introduced a fairly large number of Latin words which they themselves had borrowed from Roman traders while they were still living in Germany. But it is sometimes difficult to distinguish these words from their Teutonic cognates because the German invaders pronounced them according to the peculiarities of their own language. McKnight thinks that the following words of Latin origin were known to the Angles and Saxons before they came to Britain:⁴

Words relating to trade:

inch, from Latin *uncia*, the twelfth part of a foot. (*Ounce*, the twelfth part of a pound, came from the same Latin word through French.)

mint, coin, appearing in Anglo-Saxon in the form *mynet*, from Latin *moneta*. (The word *money* bypassed Anglo-Saxon and came in at a later date through French.)

monger, a petty trader, from Latin *mango*, slave-dealer. This word appears in not less than seventy compounds, like *fishmonger*.

pound, from *pondere*, weigh.

wine, adapted from *vinum*.

Words for receptacles:

ark, from *arca*, box.

dish, from *discus*, a disk, quoit.

kettle, an old Danish word adapted from *catillus*, a vessel used for cooking.

Words relating to domestic and farm life:

cook, kitchen, mill (for grinding), *butter and cheese*.

The names of fruits⁵ and vegetables, such as: *beet, mint, pea, peach, plum, and pepper*. Also *cole*, from *caulis*, cabbage. We have this word in *coleslaw*, which is, literally, *cabbage salad*. *Kale* is the Scotch form of the same word.

THIRD PERIOD: *The Period of French Influence—From the Norman Conquest (1066) to Chaucer (1400)*

THE CONQUEST of England by the Normans in the late eleventh century marked the beginning of a profound change in the character of the English language. These people, however, did not come to England directly from Scandinavia. They had settled in the lower valley of the Seine to which they gave the name Normandy, that little corner of France which has recently written a new chapter in our own history. The Normans were a courageous and vigorous people—so versatile and nimble minded that after several generations they had completely absorbed the culture and language of the people who lived in this part of France. After they conquered England, Norman-French became the language of the nobility, while English remained the speech of the common people. The two classes little by little became bilingual, and then the two languages gradually fused into one language, with English predominating but greatly enriched by the addition of many Norman-French words. In 1204, King John lost Normandy. Norman influence gradually ceased and English again became the official language. During the next two centuries wholesale importation of Parisian French words greatly modified the character of the English language, and it finally emerged in the language of Chaucer, which we can read today without too much difficulty.

What was this language like which so changed the character of our English vocabulary? Its chief element was Latin, dating back to the days when France was under Roman rule. Since only a few people could read and write, their words were characterized by peculiarities and irregularities in pro-

nunciation and spelling. Several thousand of these Gallicized Latin words are still used in English. We have, for example, such words as *achieve* (from *ad caput venire*); *alarm* (from *ad arma*); *beef* (from *bos*); *coy* (from *quies*), in which not a single letter of the original Latin word remains; *eager* (from *acer*) and *vinegar* (from *vinum acre*); *Mr.* and *master* (from *magister*), according to the syllable stressed; and *view* (from *video*).

This period of three hundred years when England was directly exposed to French influence produced two interesting phenomena in the English language—both for the better.

First, direct contact with French caused the English to make radical changes in the structure of their native Teutonic tongue. They simplified inflection, leaving in our language only a relatively small number of inflected forms such as *I*, *me*, *we*, *us*, *who*, *whose*, *whom*, our possessive in *-s* and past tense in *-ed*. They began to form words by affixing prefixes and suffixes to roots, thereby giving us orderly word families instead of interminable compounds. Otherwise our literary language might have become as cumbersome as that of their brothers who remained in Germany remote from Roman influence. The English began to use such words as *literature* for *book-craft*; *conscience* for *in-wit*; *remorse* for *again-bite*; *caution* or *prudence* for *forewit*; *treasure* for *gold-hoard*; *auction* for *bidding-sale*. In these examples the native word became obsolete; but English still uses many self-explaining compounds, which add to the picturesqueness and flexibility of the language. We should not like to give up *honey-sweet*, *nut-brown*, *snow-white*, *sky-blue*, *dog-tired*, *horse sense*, *buttermilk*; or even the *motorman*, *milkman* or *garbage man*.

The Enrichment of English

THE SECOND PHENOMENON is a characteristic of bilingualism. English is rich in doublets or couplets such as "pure and simple," "clean and neat," "end and aim," "bright and shining." Our language has about five hundred pairs of such words.⁶ Greenough and Kittredge⁷ state that the habit was well established as early as the ninth century when

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was translated into Anglo-Saxon. The translator repeatedly used two words instead of one in order to make the meaning unmistakably clear, but he gave no thought to the etymology of the word. Both words might be native, as "bright and shining"; or borrowed, as "pure and simple"; or one might be native and the other borrowed, as "clean and neat."

The couplets of the Norman period, however, were not due to translation, but rather to the fact that the Saxon and Norman lived side by side and each persisted in using his own word, with the result that one word of the pair is Anglo-Saxon and the other Norman-French of Latin origin.⁸ They fall into two groups: (1) The pairs that are identical in meaning and used together; as *aid* and *abet*, *will* and *testament*; and (2) words which are identical or synonymous in meaning, but used separately. Examples of the latter are: *begin* and *commence*, *bloom* and *flower*, *board* and *table*, *buy* and *purchase*, *deed* and *act*, *friendly* and *amiable*, *hearty* and *cordial*, *house* and *residence*, *kind* and *sort*, *luck* and *fortune*, *short* and *brief*, *work* and *labor*, *wretched* and *miserable*.

Synonymous words of this class have not only enriched the English language by giving it a variety of expression, but they are of special interest to the student of history and literature for the light which they shed on the manners and customs of the time.

The words *beef*, *veal*, *pork*, and *venison* suggest the culinary art of the banquet hall; while the corresponding Anglo-Saxon words for the animal on the hoof—*cow*, *calf*, *pig* (or *hog*), and *deer*—disclose the humbler life of the conquered. We quote from *Ivanhoe*: "Four generations had not sufficed to blend the hostile blood of the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, or to unite by common language and mutual interests two hostile races, one of which still felt the elation of triumph, while the other groaned under all the consequences of defeat."⁹ The Saxon persisted in using specific names for the things he encountered in his daily round of servile duties. The conqueror, on the other hand, who required a broader scope for his varied activities, not

only used generic common nouns, such as *animal, beast, ancestor, and parent*; but he introduced into English a host of words which he inherited from the oral Latin of the Roman Empire. The following "ear-Latin" words will suffice to reveal the Norman stately manner of living as well as the new continental culture subsequently implanted in England when the Norman had gone and English became the official language:¹⁰

Relating to war: *armor, arms, army, assault, battle, captain, enemy, fortress, lance, mail, navy, soldier, visor.*

Relating to feudalism: *esquire* (from *scutarius*),¹¹ *castle, fealty, homage, manor, servant, sir and sire* (from *senior*), *tower, village, villain.*

Relating to hunting: *chase, course, forest* (from *foris*, "out of doors"); and many technical terms.

Relating to law: *attorney* (one who acts in turn, from *attornare*), *court* (from *cohors*), *judge, jury, justice, larceny* (from *latrocinium*), *mortgage* (*mortuus* + *gage*, "a pledge"),¹¹ *perjury, prison* (from *prehendo*), *sue* (from *sequor*), *summons* (from *summoneo*), *treason* (from *traditio*), *trespass* (from *trans* + *passus*, "step").

Relating to government: *city, constitution, count, countess, county, (comes), dignity, duke, govern, mayor, parliament, peer, people, realm, rent, state, tax, title, treaty* (from *tracto*), *viscount* (from *vice* + *comes*).

Relating to the church: *ceremony, chaplain, choir, faith, grace, mercy, peace, saint, sacrament.*

While the number of Norman-French words in English is considerable, the borrowing is relatively small as compared with the very large number that came from Parisian, or Central French during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹²

FOURTH PERIOD: *The Renaissance*

THE PERIOD of the Renaissance in the late fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an age of discovery, of intellectual activity and joy in living. It marks the beginning of modern civilization as we know it. This period saw the discovery of our hemi-

sphere, the colonization of Latin America, and the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth. It seems a pity that all American history books do not begin with a chapter on the Renaissance. We Americans are not indigenous. Our history texts have been in the past and still are too isolationist. It is time we demolished the geographical barriers and developed a good neighbor policy; for nothing makes for peace so much as an understanding of common traditions.

The Renaissance wrought a profound change in the English language and literature. Henceforth, our language was destined to become a literary language as well as a spoken tongue. As a result of the rediscovery of the works of many Roman and Greek authors, men read and translated the classics. As a remedy for the inadequacies of native English, translators and authors coined wholesale a countless number of words directly from the printed page of Latin and Greek. Unlike the debased spoken Latin which had previously come in through the dialects of France, these new words adhered closely to the spelling of the original Latin and Greek. Nobody knows how many words have come into English directly from Latin and Greek, but they constitute by far the majority of words of classical origin. Some estimates based on studies of words in the largest dictionaries run as high as seventy-five per cent.¹³

A second change in Latin derived words was the correction of the faulty spelling of many French words. For example, *aventure, doute, dette*, and *vittles* were changed to *adventure, doubt, debt*, and *vituals*, so that they would conform more closely with the Latin spelling. But the pronunciation of some of these words, being more firmly fixed in popular speech, remained unchanged.

The invention of printing not only served to standardize the English language, but it also greatly increased the number of learned men and encouraged literacy among the common people. I do not wish to give the impression that borrowings from French ceased with the introduction of eye-Latin derivatives. However, the borrowings henceforth were to be less frequent, and coined directly from

Latin became the rule rather than the exception.

An interesting phenomenon of borrowings both by ear and by eye is the prevalence in English of word pairs—one word being "eye-Latin" derived directly from Latin and the other "ear-Latin" through French. Examples are *capital* and *chapter* (from *caput*); *fidelity* and *fealty* (from *fidelitas*); *major* and *mayor* (from *maior*); *regal* and *royal* (from *regalis*); *union* and *onion* (from *unio*, *unus*); *vision* and *view* (from *visus*, *video*).

Thus for the third time in the history of the English language we see this strange fashion in word pairs—first during the Anglo-Saxon period when church Latin was translated into Old English; then under Norman rule when English and Norman lived side by side; and now during the Renaissance when scholarship superimposed upon the numerous thoroughly domiciled French words an entirely new body of pure Latin words direct from the printed page. The effect upon the English language of all these foreign influences was a high degree of flexibility, richness and fineness of expression.

THE PERIOD OF MODERN TIMES: *From the Early Seventeenth Century to the Present Time*

SO FAR AS the classical element in English is concerned, the last three and a half centuries may as well be regarded as a continuation of the Renaissance. Since the year 1500, in fact, the borrowings from French, with the exception of a considerable number of new military terms and popular society phrases, have been meager.¹⁴ "If it [an English word of Latin derivation] came in after 1500, the chances are overwhelmingly in favor of its having come directly from the Latin unless it bears an unmistakably French imprint."¹⁵

"The process of Anglicizing Latin words did not cease with the Revival of Learning. Each succeeding age has had its men of letters who have enriched the English language by their contributions of new words. Since the days of Francis Bacon, science has looked to Latin as well as to Greek for its nomenclature. Without Latin, commerce would be obliged to seek a new medium of

expression in advertising its goods; and law . . . would lose its certainty of definition."¹⁶

At the present time, coinage from Latin and Greek is increasing. Hardly a day passes when we do not encounter some newly coined classical word which we do not find in the dictionary. The July 8, 1944, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* carried an advertisement by Bendix representing streamlined transportation of the future. The key words used were *electronics*, *magnetics*, *electro-mechanics*, *optics*, *carburetion*, *hydraulics*, *aerology*—seven magic words all Latin or Greek. As W. A. Oldfather points out, more than ninety per cent of the technical words used in science, invention, and technology are Latin or Greek.¹⁷

Oldfather reports studies which indicate that the native, or Anglo-Saxon element in English is decreasing while the classical element is steadily increasing. He cites the findings of these studies as follows:

(1) Studies of obsolete words in English show that words of native origin are going out of fashion more rapidly than words of Latin and Greek origin. For example, of the obsolete words used in the Bible and Shakespeare, more than half are native English and less than half of Latin or Greek origin.¹⁸

(2) A study of the origin of new words which have come into English since 1800, based on a study of 44,585 words listed under the letters A-M in the *New Oxford English Dictionary* (1933), reveals the astounding fact that only 12.1 per cent are native English and more than fifty per cent of classical origin—a ratio of four to one in favor of Latin and Greek.¹⁹

III

WHAT ARE the implications for education of the Latin element in English?

The recent *Report of the Harvard Committee* supports the study of a foreign language mainly on the basis of "its value for the understanding of English."²⁰ "The close ties between England and the Continent, particularly after the Norman Conquest and throughout the Renaissance, enormously enriched the language, supplying a synonym of

Latin origin for virtually every Germanic word in the tongue."²¹ "To return, then, to the early stages of language teaching, its prime function is not to give a practical command of the new language; on the contrary, it is to illuminate English in these two respects in which English supremely needs illumination, namely, syntax and vocabulary."²²

High-school Latin teachers assign the highest rank to those ultimate objectives which relate to the contribution of Latin to English. Ninety-eight per cent of the teachers who responded to the questionnaire submitted to them by the Committee which conducted the Classical Investigation regarded the following objective as valid: *Increased ability to understand the exact meaning of English words derived directly or indirectly from Latin, and increased accuracy in their use.*²³ Ninety-seven per cent regarded the following objectives as valid: *Increased knowledge of the principles of English grammar and a consequently increased ability to speak and write grammatically correct English.*²⁴

The high rating of these objectives is especially significant because the survey was made at a time when psychologists were attacking formal discipline and orienting all teaching on the principle of specificity. Also significant was the fact that the textbooks which were in use at that time paid little or no attention to material designed to effect correlation of Latin with other curricular experiences. Whatever transfer took place was assumed to be automatic.

In recent years, emphasis has been placed on the value of Latin for its contribution to English. Teachers of Latin, relieved of the responsibility of "covering the ground," aim at correct English usage in translations; and the textbooks definitely recognize the contribution of Latin to English as an objective and include abundant practice in word-formation. We teach the use of Latin roots, prefixes and suffixes in English; and we provide practice in seeing the relationship between Latin and English words. The students interpret English quotations containing significant English words of Latin derivation, and they

are taught how Latin came into English in the course of its historical development. These innovations in the teaching of Latin should be of interest both to those who have not studied Latin and to those who studied it in the days before the value of Latin for English was recognized as a definite objective.

We return to the problem of translation. In spite of its reputed shortcomings, we are not ready to abandon it. Whenever we listen to another, we translate. The speaker's language is not quite identical to ours. Unless we recast his meanings we get a meaning which the speaker did not intend to convey. Propaganda is based on building up meanings through suggestion. When such a word as "democracy" has a thousand and one connotations, it is possible through a *continuum* to create an attitude at either end of the scale. Unless we possess the flexibility that comes from extended practice in translating meanings, we may some day find ourselves gregarious, blind followers of some demagogue or dictator. The unity of Hitler's followers came about in this way. His followers must not think for themselves. Therefore, a liberal education which trains a man to think clearly must be banished. All thinking must be centrally controlled. So it is under a dictatorship where the citizens have a narrow vocabulary with one set of meanings restricted by directives which issue either from an individual or from one collective source. Whether our thoughts are controlled by one man or by a bureaucracy matters not. In either event we lose our freedom and become slaves. Independent and intelligent thinking is possible only when we possess a knowledge of words and an understanding of meanings.

Latin teachers, in a true sense, are teachers of English rather than teachers of a foreign language. Since the intellectual vocabulary of English is predominantly Latin, we maintain that there is no better instructional device at the high-school level for the stimulation of ideas and for the teaching of diction and language structure than the translation of appropriate Latin literature into English.

NOTES

¹ "A Brief History of the English Language," by James Hadley, revised by George Lyman Kittredge, sect. 40 in the Merriam-Webster *New International Dictionary*, 1937.

² Compiled from J. M. D. Meiklejohn, *The English Language*, D. C. Heath, 1906, 290; George H. McKnight, *English Words and Their Background*, D. Appleton, 1923, 109; T. N. Toller, *Outlines of the History of the English Language*, Cambridge, 1900.

³ Edward Y. Lindsay, *An Etymological Study of the Ten Thousand Words in Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book*, Indiana University Studies, Vol. xii, 1925.

⁴ George H. McKnight, *op. cit.*, 107-108.

⁵ Cf. Gudeman's comment on Tac. Ger., Ch. 5, *frugiferarum arborum patiens*: "The statement is largely confirmed by the fact that, with the exception of the apple, the German names for fruits, such as plums, cherries, and pears, are borrowed from Latin."

⁶ Meiklejohn, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁷ Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, Macmillan, 1922, 113 f.

⁸ Meiklejohn, *op. cit.*, 300 f.

⁹ Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Chap. 1.

¹⁰ Compiled mainly from Otto Jespersen *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1943 (9th ed.), Chap. v; Meiklejohn, *op. cit.*, 294 f.; McKnight, *op. cit.*, 123-125; Greenough and

Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 94; and verified for their first appearance in literature as given in the *Oxford Dictionary*, i.e., *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. by James A. H. Murray, Oxford, 1888.

¹¹ *Esquire* and *mortgage* are included here although the *Oxford Dictionary* gives 1475 as the year of their first appearance in literature.

¹² Greenough and Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 86.

¹³ W. A. Oldfather, "The Future of the English Vocabulary," *Classical Outlook*, 19 (Jan., 1942), 33.

¹⁴ Greenough and Kittredge, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁶ Fred S. Dunham, *Second Year Latin*, p. xvi, Winston, 1942.

¹⁷ W. A. Oldfather, "Increasing Importance of a Knowledge of Greek and Latin for the Understanding of English," *The Kentucky School Journal*, 19 (1940), 37-41.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁰ *General Education in a Free Society*, Report of the Harvard Committee, Harvard University Press, 1945, 120.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

²² *Ibid.*, 124.

²³ *Report of the Classical Investigation*, Part 1, Princeton University Press, 1924, p. 42.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

—Liber Animalium

PARVUS CULEX

NOX MEDIAE aestatis est. Silet ventus. Super omnia cacumina est quies. Calor vix tolerari potest. Cessat somnus. Homines miseri in lecto se iactant. Tandem nescio quis sonus tenuissimus quasi ex longo intervallo ad aures venit. Canticum est culicis parvi. Odoratur praedam. Mox proprius accedit. In circulos sicut miles volans alte circumlabitur. Locum aptum ad descendendum petit. Paullulum suspensa videtur in eodem loco manere sicut helicoptellulus animans. Subito se demittit. In fronte lata dormitantis leviter considit. Aculeus ex vagina protruditur, artificium mirabile naturae. Quo melius terebret cruribus longis subtilibusque bene se fulcit. Facile tergum perfodit. Sanguinem sorbere incipit. Abdomen parvulum sensim distenditur, rubore infectus. Tandem satiat haud aliter atque aeroplanus graviter onustus ex campo humano vix se tollit, altitudinem tarde

auget, celeritatem addit, in obscuritatem evanescit. Relinquitur homo vulneratus ad somnium mediae aestatis. Tumorem parvulum somnulente scalpit.

Felix, inquit poeta, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Praecipue profecto felix ille qui primus cognovit istum culicem, vel potius uxorem eius, causam esse morbi perniciosissimi; per istum aculeum minutissimum in venas hominum inici semina febris letiferae. Plures enim homines occidit quam universi imperatores omnibus temporibus. Urbes celebres populavit, terras fertilissimas ad solitudinem redegit, totas gentes delevit. O vanam superbiam hominum! Humanitas de qua gloriatur de insecto minuto pendet, Quo modo conservari potest? Oleo tempestive in stagna disperso.

ANON.

The city of the Sequani, key to the Belfort Gap

Vesontio: Crossroads of History

Bessie S. Rathbun

In the summer of 58 B.C. Caesar dashed northwards to seize the key city which commanded the invasion route to central France. For twenty centuries history has flowed about it.

BESANÇON, once known as Bisontium and earlier still, Vesontio, is not a city to lure the speeding motorist. She does not flaunt her attractions to the passer-by, but yields only to patient and persistent wooing. However, so enduring are her charms that she has been the object of amorous attention and even of ardent pursuit by makers of history all the way from Marcus Aurelius to Louis XIV.

Caesar was the first to focus the spotlight of history upon her. As we re-read the story of the Ariovistus campaign, we shall transfer our interest momentarily from the city to that "King of the Germans," the prototype in philosophy, methods, and ruthlessness of the "Seer" of Berchtesgaden. The following are but a few of the parallels to be gleaned from Caesar's account:

Infiltration tactics: "At first," says Diviciacus, "about fifteen thousand Germans had crossed the Rhine. Now there are about 120 thousand." (BG 1. 31)

(Bessie S. Rathbun was born in Minnesota, grew up in Illinois, received her A.B. and M.A. degrees from the University of Illinois, and did the greater part of her teaching in Nebraska. She studied at the University of Besançon during the summer of 1922. Among the lecturers was Georges Gazier, paleographer, historian, and member of the French Academy. His book, *Histoire de Franche Comté*, is in large part the source of the material of the paper on Vesontio.)

In 1926 Mrs. Rathbun travelled in Italy and France and attended a summer course at Oxford University, and in 1928 made a brief trip to Belgium and France. She took additional summer courses at Chicago and Colorado Universities.

Lebensraum: Ariovistus was first granted one-third of the Sequanian land; he then demanded a third more in order to furnish homes for twenty-four thousand Harudes who were at the Rhine. (BG 1. 31)

Terrorism, Gestapo: The Gauls dreaded the cruelty of the absent Ariovistus as if he were present (BG 1. 32); he was inflicting every kind of torture on the hostages if his commands were not carried out on the spot (*ad nutum*). (BG 1. 31)

Might Makes Right: Ariovistus said, "It is the right of war that those who have conquered should rule those whom they have conquered in whatever manner they wish." (BG 1. 36)

The Master Race: Herrenvolk: No one had ever opposed Ariovistus without his own destruction. Caesar would find out what valor there was in the invincible Germans, who had not lived under a roof for fourteen years." (BG 1. 36)

Aggression under Pretense of Aid: Hitler went into Norway to help save it from British aggression. Ariovistus declared that he had not crossed the Rhine of his own accord, but had been invited by the Gauls. His subjects had paid tribute "willingly" until Caesar came. (BG 1. 44)

Supermen: Hitler and the Suebian chieftain placed themselves above God. The Usipetes and Tencteri later said they yielded only to the Suebi, "to whom not even the immortal gods could be equal." (BG 4. 7)

Appeasement: Caesar, like the gentleman with the umbrella, had to go to Ariovistus and accept his dictation as to place and conditions of meeting. The speech of the Suebian

chieftain might have emanated from the Munich Beer Hall: "*de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit.*" (BG 1. 44) At this meeting Caesar found out, as did the European nations, that agreements did not bind nor did a truce protect. Not even the name "Ambassador" later afforded a safe conduct to his emissaries, Gaius Valerius Procillus and Marcus Metius, whom Ariovistus threw into chains on the pretext that they were spies. (BG 1. 47)

Position of Women: Ariovistus' chivalrous regard for women seems to have been on a par with the Nazis, for you remember how he escaped after the battle, but left his two wives and one daughter to die, the other daughter to be captured. (BG 1. 53)

In short, from Ariovistus to Hitler, there seems to have been a continuity of perfidy and ambition which did "o'er leap itself."

Panic in the Ranks

LET US NOW DIRECT our thoughts to Vesontio and that famous panic which proved Caesar a great diplomat as well as a general. No doubt the Gallic natives took a mordant delight in spinning the tales that sent every tenderfoot shivering to his tent, where he tried to trump up an excuse to get a furlough. Going AWOL in those inhospitable hills was out of the question. So these pampered aristocrats, who, thinking they would have a "desk job," had followed Caesar "for friendship's sake," wept in their tents, made their wills (BG 1. 39), and wondered why they ever joined the army anyway. But after Caesar had led them through a second successful campaign in one year, and after they had settled down in winter quarters at Vesontio under Labienus' command, they may have gained a more favorable impression of the people. Perhaps the weary veterans had a chance to regale themselves with the salted meats and hams for which Strabo said the district was already famous. Perhaps they sent back to wives and sweethearts beautifully wrought gold bracelets and other trinkets. Perhaps, too, when the deep snows and piercing cold of the Jura mountains enveloped them they envied the "Galli Braccati" their snugger clothing. You remember

Cicero wrote to his lawyer friend, Trebatius, at Amiens, that he was afraid Trebatius would freeze fast in his winter quarters, and that he must keep a fire going. It was lucky for him that he was at Amiens, not Vesontio.

During the first winter it was Labienus' task to neutralize the natural hostility of the Sequani toward a foreign army quartered in their midst. The Sequani remained aloof from Caesar's subsequent campaigns until the moment when Vercingetorix achieved his great coalition in his effort to regain Gallic independence. The 12,000 Sequani in the army sent to relieve Vercingetorix went down to defeat, but helped save the honor of their nation. After Alesia, Labienus again was sent to Vesontio for the winter of 52-51 with two legions and the cavalry. The fact that in the Civil War Sequanian cavalry played an important role in Caesar's army, attests to the effectiveness of the "good neighbor" policy developed by Labienus.

Under the Empire

GEORGES GAZIER, author of *La Franche Comté*, thinks that the character of the Sequani and the Romans presented so many analogies that assimilation of the two was bound to be rapid. They did come to appreciate Roman civilization and government, for from the reign of Augustus on they took little part in the various attempts made in Gaul to shake off the Roman yoke.

Vesontio was made a *municipium* by the Emperor Galba, and was visited by Vespasian and by Marcus Aurelius. The latter elevated the city to the rank of a Roman Colony, which entitled its inhabitants to Roman citizenship. During this period of her greatest prosperity the city blossomed forth with beautiful public buildings, a capitol entirely of marble, a temple of Jupiter, altars to Mercury, Apollo, and Diana, and a triumphal arch usually ascribed to Marcus Aurelius, to celebrate his victories over the Germans. This arch, the *Porta Nigra*, though blackened by the fires of successive barbarian invasions, still stands. Half a block away are the four Corinthian columns of a Roman theater of the same period.

Down by the river there is a tree-shaded drill field, called "Chamars," the old Roman *Campus Martius*. There the French soldiers were doing their setting-up exercises, and I saw some of them practicing crossing the river on inflated skins, and using spades for paddles. I recalled that Caesar had described in his Civil War the skill of Spanish natives in crossing rivers by the same means.

During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, Christianity was first brought to Vesontio, for, according, to tradition, the Bishop of Lyon sent two brothers of Greek origin, Ferreol and Ferjeux, to Vesontio about 180 A.D. They took up their abode in a cave about a mile away, where a church named for them now stands. They came daily to the city to preach Christianity and worked there successfully for twenty years. They even converted the wife of the governor Claudius. He, however, becoming worried because they consistently refused to sacrifice to the gods, finally had them tortured and beheaded. Whether this tale be true or not, it is known that there was quite a flourishing church there from the third century on.

Barbarian Invasions

THIS BRIGHT era for the city courted by emperors was succeeded by the dark years of the barbarian invasions. The Germans had been repulsed by the Antonines, but kept coming back in greater strength until in 255 A.D. there burst upon northern and eastern Gaul the savage onslaught of the Franks, Alamanni and Saxons. They destroyed and burned more than forty-five towns, including all the towns of Sequania. Julian, sent by the Roman emperor to repair the disasters, wrote in 361 that Vesontio was no longer anything but a little ruined village. She had barely begun to recover when the Vandals under Stilicho swept down upon Sequania. Again Vesontio received the "Kiss of Death." Attila and his Huns followed the Vandals. Since the city, unlike Paris, had no Saint Genevieve to intercede for her, she was once more put to the torch. Before the end of the fifth century, the province, weary of the hopeless struggle, made a pact with her least

barbarous oppressors, the Burgundians. By the cession of some of her territory she gained their protection.

The period from Clovis to Charlemagne was one of anarchy which affected both church and state. When Saint Boniface came to Vesontio to try to effect reforms, he was scarcely listened to. Later, however, Saint Coloman with a group of Irish monks established a monastery at Luxondunum (northeast of Vesontio). One of their disciples about the middle of the seventh century founded abbeys at Vesontio for men and women.

The city regained a measure of prosperity under Charlemagne; then in the division of his kingdom she became the pawn on the chess board of border warfare. In the tenth century the Hungarians and Saracens invaded Burgundy. Once more Vesontio was half-destroyed and burned. She might never have risen, Phoenix-like, from her ashes had there not appeared a great personality, Hugo the First, Archbishop of Vesontio from 1031-1066. With the support of the emperor and of Pope Leo IX, he forced the barons to recognize him as their superior, rebuilt the city, established schools, and raised the moral level of both clergy and people. From this time until her conquest by Louis XIV the city retained her independent status gained through his efforts.

During the Crusades

THE CRUSADES brought another great personage to Besançon. When Frederick Barbarossa became emperor, one of his first acts was to restore to Beatrice the county of Burgundy from which she had been dispossessed by her brother. Then, attracted by her beauty and the richness of her domain, Frederick married her. In his dual role of Emperor and Count of Burgundy he came to Besançon many times and established his favorite residence at Dole a few miles to the southwest.

Not all the knights who followed him to the Holy Land left faithful Penelopes behind. On a hill across the river from Besançon can still be seen the ruins of the chateau of Montfaucon, where, according to legend, Berthe de Joux was found by her husband, returning

from the Crusades, in the arms of the handsome Amé de Montfaucon. In true mediaeval fashion her husband shut her up in a cell, whence she was allowed to look out upon the desiccated skeleton of her lover suspended from a near-by tree.

The fourteenth century, which saw the Hundred Years' War and the great plague, was another period of "blood and tears" for Besançon and Franche Comté. (The term "France Comté" first appeared in a document in 1366.)

In the following century Louis xi cast covetous eyes upon the county. After reducing many of its towns to smoking ruins, he gained possession and attached it momentarily to France. After his death the "Comtoises" allied themselves with the house of Austria. Marguerite of Austria, who ruled them during the minority of Charles v, was a real fairy godmother who brought peace and prosperity to Besançon. She also obtained a treaty that, in case of war between France and the house of Austria, the province of Burgundy should be neutralized.

Besançon and Burgundy

Charles v carried out the dying wishes of Marguerite, who especially commended Burgundy to his care. Under his protection the republic of Besançon developed her commerce and industry, and entered upon the most brilliant period of her career. She elected annually her own officials (consisting of a board of fourteen governors and twenty-eight notables chosen by popular vote). Charles even gave her the right to coin money and the privilege of using his coat of arms. The French writer, Xavier Marmier, describes the device as a symbol of her history, "... an eagle with two heads who looks both at the past and the future; two columns, sign of her strength; with this pious motto, sign of her hope and her Christian prayers, "*Utinam*"—"Plut a Dieu." In return for these favors Charles demanded only that the city remain faithful to the Catholic religion and that she break her alliance with the Swiss Cantons.

But these restrictions were light in comparison with the burdens Philip ii laid upon

her. Despite his father's earnest recommendation he considered Burgundy only a reservoir from which to draw soldiers and money for his wars. Suspecting Besançon and the whole county of leaning toward Protestantism, he sent the infamous Duke of Alba to rule over the district. After Philip's death there was a temporary lull during which the city ruled herself, though still under Spanish domination. The county even succeeded in 1611 in gaining from France a renewal of her precious treaty of neutrality. But she had not counted on the ambitions of a Cardinal Richelieu, who was determined to return to France her natural boundaries. In 1637 the hated Duc de Saxe-Weimar tried in vain to take Besançon by assault. The preceding year the Prince of Condé besieged Dole. The Duc d'Aumale in his *Histoire des Princes de Condé* has given a moving description of this siege which paralleled that of Stanlingrad. It was the Archbishop of Besançon, Ferdinand de Rye, over eighty years old, one of the governors of the province, who was the soul of the defense. Religious enthusiasm was fanned to white heat, for in the attacking army were Lutherans. Monks and women worked side by side with the soldiers to defend the city. Even the newly invented bombs and projectiles used against it failed to daunt them. The capture of Dole was announced for the feast of St. John. That day passed, and on the eighth of July the King named a governor of Dole "in case God may place this city in my power." Reinforcements promised by him were not forth-coming, however, and at last, in accordance with orders, the Prince lifted the siege on August 15. On the day of the Assumption the intrepid archbishop had himself carried to the roof of Notre-Dame. There among the debris of the fallen towers as he saw the rearguard of the French army retreating in the distance, with his last breath he intoned the "*Nunc Dimittis*."

Although Besançon and Dole held out successfully, the land was so harried during the ten years' war that famine stalked the land, even rats became prized delicacies, and half the population of Franche Comté perished or fled abroad.

In 1654 at the diet of Ratisbonne, Besançon was exchanged for Frankenthal and became for a few years a Spanish city. This is Victor Hugo's only justification for calling his birthplace "an old Spanish city."

A Part of France

LOUIS XIV, inheriting Richelieu's designs, was not slow to cast his eyes on La Franche Comté. In 1668 through a combination of diplomacy, money and treachery,¹ he made an easy conquest of Franche Comté. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the district was returned to Spain. But in 1674 Louis again invaded, and finally captured Besançon after a siege of twenty-seven days. The attack was directed by the famous engineer, Vauban, of whom it was said that he never besieged a fortress without taking it and never lost one that he defended. He later built the fortifications around the citadel, which are still intact.

From this time on Besançon became definitely a part of France, though the proud and independent people at first accepted their new master with ill grace, as the story of the old wine grower testifies. When he was invited by Louis XIV, soon after the conquest, to drink to his health, the peasant replied that he wasn't thirsty any more and that one more glass of wine would make him ill.

But what of the effect of centuries of warfare on the city and its people? Every house

with its massive stone walls and iron barred windows is mute testimony to the fact that their homes were likewise fortresses. Not many buildings in the old part of the city within the circle of the river are later than the eighteenth century, the majority being seventeenth and sixteenth or earlier. The building in which I lived on la Rue Ernest Renan had walls a foot thick. The doorway opposite mine bore the date 1535 and the inscription in old French, "Where God Enters the Devil Cannot Harm." There is little opportunity to excavate the thirteen or more feet down to the level of Roman times because the "old" city, encircled by the River Dubis ("ut circino circumductum"), is built up solidly with party walls throughout. Hardly a detached building is to be seen. One can only speculate about the treasures so securely buried beneath them.

The City Today

NOT MORE THAN three blocks from our home was the house in which Victor Hugo was born. A few paces from it is the triumphal arch, the *Porta Nigra*, and behind it against the slopes of the citadel is the Cathedral of Saint Jean, part of which dates back to 1050. In it is also a remarkable piece of modern mechanism, recalling the main industry of the Bisontines, an astronomical clock with 30,000 parts, and seventy-two dials. The library, one of the oldest and richest in France, founded in 1694 by Boisot, the Abbé of Saint Vincent, contains 130,000 volumes, fine manuscripts of the French and Italian Schools, 1200 incunabula, and an especially good collection of medals and coins.

One of the parks contains the statue of another native of Besançon, Pierre Joseph Proudhon. In the heart of the city is the Lycée Victor Hugo founded by the Jesuits in 1597. By its main entrance is a fountain and bust dedicated to Louis Pasteur, who taught there for two years. He it was who never tired of praising the qualities of his fellow countrymen of La Franche Comté; their simple character, sometimes a little crude, their need to go to the bottom of things, their love of independence, their courage capable of strug-

¹ Among the notable persons thus won over was the famous Jean de Watteville, adventurer extraordinary, whose name and misdeeds have become legendary. Jean's family were people of quality. He became a monk, but, impatient of restraint, decided to flee. In the act of escaping he killed the prior and two days later murdered a stranger at an inn. He fled the country, took refuge in Turkey, became a Moslem, and later, in exchange for absolution from the Pope, delivered Turkish secrets and fortified places to the Venetians with whom they were at war. After his return to Franche Comté he had a hand in all the intrigue of the first and second conquests of the district by France. He stipulated in payment for his services the Archbishopric of Besançon. The Pope drew the line at that, and the King induced Watteville to take the second choice, the Abbey of Baume. There he lived *en grand seigneur* to a ripe and unregenerate old age.

gling years without, and against ill, fortune, and in their every-day life their tenacious will. Rarely, says M. Gazier, will a *Comtois* acknowledge that he is wrong. In fact there is a saying, "*Comtois, tête de bois.*" But their stubbornness and insistence on careful reflection before acting is only a natural sequence to their centuries of being buffeted by contrary winds. Their proverbs breathe a realism shorn of illusions. For example, it is worth more to say, "Ugly duckling, let's eat supper," than to say, "My beauty, what have we to eat for supper?" Or, "A young woman, green wood, and fresh bread soon cause a house to be sold." Or, "one sees more old inebriates than old doctors."

But dominating all other qualities, the zeal

of these border folk for what they believe to be right and their passionate love of liberty has been well expressed by one of their rumber in a national hymn, the most imbued with patriotism that has ever been conceived. "*Aux Armes, Citoyens, formez vos bataillons, Marchons, Marchons.*" Lamartine says of Rouget de Lisle's heroic song that it is the "tocsin of the hearts, the sursum corda of the bayonets."

In closing we apply to Besançon words borrowed from Tennyson

"I am a part of all that I have met

"Much have I seen and known; cities of men,
And manners, climates, councils, governments,
Myself not least, but honored of them all."

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

(Central Section)

By invitation of the Stockton members, the Central Section met on April 12, 1947, at the College of Pacific, with Anderson Hall as headquarters. Dean Farley and Miss Lillian Williams received the guests on their arrival in the social room of Anderson Hall. Over fifty members sat down to lunch after Dean Farley had delivered a brief informal address of welcome.

After lunch guests and hosts met under the Chairmanship of Miss Claire Thursby to hear a talk by Professor Lily Ross Taylor of Bryn Mawr College, serving at present as Sather Professor of Classical Literature at the University of California. Her subject was *The Foreign Population of Rome in the Days of Cicero*, and the address was found wonderfully revealing in regard to many of the details of the life followed by these people in the great capital and of the extent to which they were integrated into its life. The interest of the paper was greatly increased by comparisons made between ancient conditions and the situation of foreign colonies in the United States. A very hearty vote of thanks was accorded Professor Taylor at the conclusion of her lecture.

In the business meeting which followed, the Secretary-Treasurer reported on the finances of the Section and noted the fact that it now included eighty members on its roll. President Thursby extended, on behalf of the Berkeley members, an invitation to hold the fall meeting

of the Central Section in Berkeley. The meeting voted unanimously to accept the invitation.

Mrs. Carol Wickert, for the Nominating Committee, reported the following slate of officers for 1947-48: President, Mrs. Rofena Polk; Vice-President, Miss May Saitz; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor W. H. Alexander; Executive Committee members, Mr. Paul Huchthausen, Miss Vera Jones. No other nominations being made from the floor on call, President Thursby declared the above persons duly elected.

Professor A. E. Gordon, as general Secretary-Treasurer, reported a total membership of 205 distributed as follows: Northern Section 54, Central Section 80, Southern Section 71. Professor Gordon also spoke of the inadequacy of the present basic membership fee of \$2.00. After considerable discussion a resolution was carried to the effect that the basic membership fee should be raised to \$2.50 for the year 1947-1948, and that the further raising of this basic charge to \$3.00 for 1948-1949 be made an item of first consideration at the next annual meeting.

Professor Gordon having signified his desire to retire from the general secretary-treasurership, his resignation was reluctantly accepted, and appropriate notice was taken of the splendid organizational work he had rendered the Association from 1944 to 1947. Assistant Professor William M. Green of the University of California (Berkeley) was elected in his place.

NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 111 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

STUDIES of Tiberius Gracchus and his reform program rank among the finest productions of modern scholarship, but like all such studies they open up new possibilities for the future. With the constitutional and economic aspects of the agrarian legislation intensively analyzed there is now room for a work on a broader canvas. The whole Gracchan movement needs to be related to the social and intellectual environment not merely of second century Italy but to that of the Mediterranean world as a whole, especially to the constant flow of Greek ideas westward. The purpose of the present paper is to show the relevance of such a study, rather than to anticipate its results.

We may begin by citing a famous passage in which Appian is generally supposed to have followed a gifted historian who was well informed on the Gracchan period.¹ The passage paraphrases a speech made by Tiberius Gracchus in support of his land law, a speech in which the superiority of citizens to slaves and of soldiers to the non-military population has been brought out. Appian continues:²

... and then he (i.e. Tiberius Gracchus) went on describing the hopes and the fears of the fatherland, how they had obtained most of their territory by force of arms and had hopes of winning *the rest of the inhabited world*; that now everything was at stake—either they would acquire the rest by their valor, or because of weakness and jealousy they would lose to their enemies what they already possessed.

More than thirty years ago Tenney Frank dismissed this speech, which might have seemed so damaging to his major thesis, with the following comment:³

The speech smacks of the hustings and contains a threat-burdened appeal to the self-interests of the voters; it reveals the attitude of the populace

rather than any heart-felt ideal of the speakers. . . . That the Gracchans would ever have made a serious dogma out of this part of the speech we can hardly believe, for their sympathies, by inheritance, by teaching, and by nature, lay in the direction of equitable, not to say generous, treatment of allies and foreign nations It is at once clear that imperialism *per se* was not a burning question at the time.

The increased respect now accorded to Appian's source suggests the wisdom of reconsidering this passage. Even Tenney Frank, writing back in 1914, does not attack its authenticity but its relevance. He does not doubt that Tiberius said what Appian makes him say, but he tells us that imperialism was not practical politics in second century Rome. In this he is clearly supported by Appian's account, for Appian goes on to say that Gracchus exaggerated the glory and the ease of conquering the inhabited world, as well as the danger of being conquered by their enemies, in an effort to obtain support for his land bill. The wealthy were urged to make a small immediate sacrifice in return for the prospect of more substantial rewards in the future.⁴ Behind all this we may sense the disapproval of the practical Roman with both feet on the ground and with an instinctive distrust of fine phrases. But even though we accept Frank's position that "imperialism *per se*" was not practical politics at the time, and that Tiberius Gracchus was unwise in making this appeal, we are still interested in why the appeal was made and for whom it was intended.

Tenney Frank's observations as well as the frostiness of Appian's source suggest that the imperialism advocated in this speech was not a native Roman conception but a Greek borrowing. The logic of the imagined situation is entirely Greek, the idea that Rome must go on

and on to further conquest or forfeit what she has already won. A few examples from Thucydides should make this clear. The Athenian envoys justify their empire to the Lacedaemonians by the innocence with which it has been acquired and the danger in giving it up;⁵ Pericles, in defending his war policy, tells the Athenians plainly that they hold a "tyranny" which they ought perhaps to have eschewed, but which they cannot safely lay down;⁶ Alcibiades, in urging the Syracusan expedition, warns the Athenians that they cannot turn back, they must go on expanding or themselves be conquered;⁷ and the Athenian envoys to Melos, to cite one last example, state with brutal frankness that the independence of Melos is injurious to Athens since it can only be regarded as proof of Athenian weakness.⁸ Later the vague Athenian ideas of indefinite expansion by a conquering state had been clarified by Alexander's conquest and by the conception of one government for the whole civilized world. This idea also is incorporated in Tiberius Gracchus' speech.⁹

Assuming that this imperialistic concept was Greek there still remains the question of Tiberius Gracchus' motivation. Did he visualize himself as a Roman Alexander? Did he use this idea under the mistaken impression that it would prove popular? Or was he appealing primarily to the enlightened self-interest of his own class—trying to atone for present loss by future benefits? No attempt can be made here to answer these questions, but one comment may be made at the risk of stating the obvious. When Tiberius Gracchus began his term as tribune he can hardly have anticipated his own tragic death. Yet his death, followed a decade later by that of his brother, both tribunes, has so affected our ideas of the Gracchi that we think of them primarily as revolutionary leaders. Was that the intention of Tiberius Gracchus? Did he not rather regard the tribunate as a stepping stone to a military career? It is generally recognized that Gracchus was thinking in military terms, but it is not always remembered that he may have had his own future military career in mind. He may well have thought his land bill

would strengthen the army. But did he fail to realize that new voters would probably feel obligated to support their benefactor at the polls? Three quarters of a century later Caesar cultivated the same class of voter, and had Caesar died earlier he might have been regarded primarily as a popular agitator.

Our opinion of Tiberius Gracchus as an imperialist is necessarily colored by our conception of his position as a "democrat." Was he a democrat in the Greek or in the Roman sense? Hugh Last maintains that the Roman *Populares* did not believe in democracy. They were distinguished from the *Optimates* chiefly by a public-spirited interest in governmental efficiency and by a willingness to open the doors of the nobility to deserving men of all ranks. He also believes that the Gracchi were not strictly *Populares*, but he says: "Tiberius Gracchus and his brother were perhaps the first true democrats in Rome—and, it may be added, the last."¹⁰ That is, they were democrats in the Greek sense. The passages from Thucydides cited above illustrate the compatibility of "democracy" and "imperialism" in the Greek sense.¹¹

Unfortunately the origin of Tiberius' democratic ideas cannot be dismissed so lightly. Plutarch tells us that one of the reasons for Tiberius' reform program was the influence of Diophanes the rhetorician, a Mytilenian exile, and Blossius of Cumae, a former student of Antipater of Tarsus.¹² Plutarch neglects to name his authority but Taeger infers that the source is hostile to the Gracchi, because it depicts Romans guided by a Greek exile and a mere Campanian.¹³ About Diophanes unfortunately we know little,¹⁴ but Blossius' antecedents have been investigated in a stimulating article by D. R. Dudley.¹⁵ He has made it appear likely that Blossius was related to the Capuan praetor, Marius Blossius, who wanted to treat with Hannibal, and to the brothers Blossii, who headed a conspiracy of 170 Campanians to burn Capua during the Roman occupation.¹⁶ He also gives an ingenious and plausible explanation of how the scion of a family with such a questionable record might have received Cumaeian citizenship "without a complete break from the anti-Roman and

democratic sympathies of his house."¹⁷ Here we have a "democrat" closely associated with Tiberius,¹⁸ whose family is rooted to the soil of Italy with a long record of "democratic" opposition to Rome. Perhaps the democratic ideas of Tiberius are to be connected with native Italian developments such as finally led to Drusus and the Marsic war? Again the task of the historian is difficult. Admitting that the views of Tiberius Gracchus and Blossius were essentially the same we still do not know whether those views were Italian or Greek, for Blossius had studied under a Greek Stoic, Antipater of Tarsus, who had sufficient regard for Blossius to dedicate philosophic work to him.¹⁹

Blossius' subsequent career is a strong argument for the predominance of Greek influences. After Tiberius' death Blossius was cross-examined by the consuls and pardoned. He then left Rome to join Aristonicus in Asia, committing suicide after the overthrow of his new associate.²⁰ Thus in one short lifetime Blossius serves as a connecting thread between Italian local patriotism and the Gracchi, between the Gracchi and the Asiatic slave revolt, and between all of these and Stoicism. A definitive study of Tiberius Gracchus should take serious account of Blossius with a view to determining to what extent, if any, there is a logical connection between these various aspects of his life. Perhaps other Gracchan sympathizers joined Aristonicus; perhaps also the revolt of Aristonicus is linked with the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus in some such way as the Marsic war is linked with the murder of Livius Drusus. Or it may be that we are confronted with a remarkable series of coincidences. The series is greatly enlarged when one comes to examine the background of Aristonicus' revolt.

The Sun State planned by Aristonicus probably derives from the popular work of Iambulus.²¹ W. W. Tarn also sees the influence of Iambulus on the third century Spartan revolution headed by King Agis,²² but he denies that Iambulus' work showed Stoic influence.²³ The well known fact that in the second phase of the Spartan revolution

Cleomenes III was heartily seconded by Zeno's pupil, Sphaerus, might merely be regarded as an accident were we not faced by a similar situation at the time of Aristonicus. A new attempt is made to realize Iambulus' state, and once more we find a Stoic, Blossius, playing his part. When we also note definite Stoic characteristics in Plutarch's version of a speech by Tiberius Gracchus²⁴ it becomes evident that the argument of coincidence has worn a trifle thin. It may be pointed out, however, that Tarn's argument against Stoic influences on Iambulus is unusually maladroit. He stresses two points, the absence of slavery and the existence of kingship, as proof that the ideas were not Stoic. But actually nothing in Diodorus' summary of Iambulus²⁵ justifies us in regarding the work as opposing slavery out of a regard for the slaves. That would be a modern rather than an ancient point of view. Instead the purpose seems to have been to foster self-sufficiency. It is probably dependence on the slave that was to be eliminated as a needless form of luxury.²⁶ The slave question was certainly of great importance to Tiberius Gracchus, as it may have been to Iambulus. Gracchus' program, if successful, would have greatly reduced the number of slaves by eliminating large estates, not for the good of the slaves but for the good of Rome. Aristonicus' freeing of slaves may be explained as a usual device of the desperate, and if any ancient philosophical support be needed, it may be found in the assumption that the *legal* slaves were not *natural* slaves.²⁷

So far as kingship is concerned, the fragments do not tell us whether Iambulus did or did not advocate a monarchical government. The fact that everyone must obey the governor²⁸ does not serve to define the nature of his power; nor does the fact that the governor was "like a king"²⁹ prove anything except that he was *not* a king.

The scholar who succeeds in relating these questions to the policies of Tiberius Gracchus, even if his analysis shows that the apparent connection between these streams of thought is illusory, will have performed a service.

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NOTES

¹ App. Bell. Civ. 1, 7-17. Jerome Carcopino in his *Autour des Gracques* (Paris, 1928) 5-46 presents a convincing argument for the superiority of Appian's account. He believes Appian's source was a historian of the first century of the empire. Hugh Last in CAH 9.886 regards Appian's informant as a historian contemporary with the Gracchi. Frank Burr Marsh in *A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B.C.* (London, 1935) 378-380, affirms the superiority of this historian without attempting to fix his floruit.

² *Ibid.* 1, 11.

³ Tenney Frank *Roman Imperialism* (New York, 1914) 250-251.

⁴ App. Bell. Civ. 1, 11.

⁵ Thuc. 1, 75.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, v, 95.

⁹ App. Bell. Civ. 1, 11.

¹⁰ Cf. CAH 9.138; 114; 28.

¹¹ Cf. Jerome Carcopino, *Points de Vue sur L'Imperialisme Romain* (Paris, 1934) 9.

¹² Plut. Tib. 8.

¹³ Fritz Taeger, *Tiberius Gracchus* (Stuttgart, 1928) 68-69.

¹⁴ Plutarch does tell us that he was put to death after the death of Tiberius.

¹⁵ D. R. Dudley, "Blossius of Cumae," *Jour. Rom. Stud.* 21 (1941) 94-99.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 94-95; see also Last, CAH 9.21 et fn.; see also W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 19, n. 54.

¹⁷ Dudley, *op. cit.*, 95.

¹⁸ This is certainly the impression one gets from reading Plutarch; see his Tib. 8; 17; 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8. See Dudley, *op. cit.*, 96.

²⁰ Plut. Tib. 20.

²¹ See W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 130-131, and n. 53, p. 154.

²² Cf. CAH 7.741.

²³ W. W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 129-130.

²⁴ See Taeger, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

²⁵ Diod. Sic. II, 55-60.

²⁶ Cf. Onesicritus' idyll of the Land of Musicanus, where adolescents took the place of menials, Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* II B, 134, F 24 from Strabo xv, 1, 34.

²⁷ For Aristotle's famous discussion see Pol. 1254a-1255b.

²⁸ τούτων πάντες πειθόμενοι, Diod. Sic. II, 58; cited by Tarn, *op. cit.*, n. 42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 50: καθάπερ τις βασιλεύς.

ARNOBIUS ADVERSUS GENERA

"Arnobius on the Genders"

ARNOBIUS¹ of Sicca Veneria in proconsular Africa, sometimes called Arnobius the Elder to distinguish him from the fifth-century writer of the same name, was a rhetorician who, having late in life been converted to Christianity, composed his seven books *Adversus Nationes* during the reign of Diocletian in order to demonstrate the sincerity of his new-found faith. As in the case of many another work by a new convert, Arnobius exhibits a deeper knowledge of the religion he had abandoned than of the one he had but lately espoused. He cannot be recommended as a master of style but the seven books contain numerous passages which would prove of interest to students of the pagan literature if they could be persuaded to read Arnobius.²

One such passage is of peculiar interest to all teachers of the language because it discusses the thorny subject of grammatical gender (1.59).³ The characteristic method of our writer is to quote a supposed critic of Christianity—since these are never named,

one suspects that some of them, at least, are set up merely to be knocked down—and then to demolish the contention of the pagan with all the vehemence of his rhetoric both by excusing in some way the criticized practice of the Christians and by showing that the pagans themselves were guilty of the same fault. In this case the "critic" complains that the narratives (*res*) of the Christians "are overrun with barbarisms and solecisms and vitiated by graceless faults." I am inclined to regard this as a veiled allusion to the *κοινή* Greek of the New Testament, though it may of course, refer to later writers. One can readily understand how a convert of Arnobius' experience in the teaching of rhetoric—Lactantius was one of his pupils at Sicca—would find the simple narratives of the Gospels written in the *κοινή* very inferior to the polished periods of the best age of Attic Greek, and, feeling so, deem it necessary to defend the Christian practice from the pagan attack, real or potential.

But if Arnobius was really scandalized, he

managed to conceal it fairly well when he wrote the following passage:

How, I ask you, does whether anything is expressed smoothly or with uncouth roughness impede or how does it slow comprehension;⁴ whether that is accented with the acute which ought to be accented with the grave;⁵ or how is any statement less true if there is a mistake in number or case, in preposition, participle, or conjunction? Let that ostentation of diction and oratory according to rhetorical rules be reserved for meetings, for lawsuits, for the forum, and for courts of justice, and let it be given to those who, seeking for soothing pleasures, put their whole zeal into the brilliance of words. When the question at issue is far removed from mere display, what is said should be considered, not with how much charm it is said, nor how it soothes the ears, but what values it brings to those who listen, especially since we know that some who devote themselves to philosophy not only threw away refinements of style but even, when they could have spoken with greater elegance and richness, zealously strove after a commonplace and humble style, lest perchance they might spoil the stern gravity and revel rather in sophistic display.⁶

Strange talk, indeed, for one who had made a life-long profession of the teaching of rhetoric, whose own work abounds in all the tricks of the schools.

He goes on to be specific in the matter of grammatical gender. At first sight it might seem that he anticipated the sentiments of modern students of Latin who wish fervently, as they assure their teachers, that the Romans had made neuter all nouns not referring to antecedents possessing sex, but not so—he believes, like most speakers of languages which still retain grammatical gender, that it is most natural to use this illogicality. But let him speak once more:

For what natural reason is there or what law written in the constitutions of the world that *hic* should be used with *paries* and *haec* with *sella*, since neither noun has sex which is indicated by the masculine and feminine gender, nor can any very learned man inform me what *hic* and *haec* are or why one of them designates the male sex and that which follows is used with feminines. These things are human conventions and are certainly not indispensable to all persons for

use in creating language. For *paries* could perhaps have been used with *haec* and *sella* with *hic* without any complaint, if it had been agreed from the beginning that this would be said, and if by following ages this practice had been preserved in common speech. And yet, you who charge our writings with the disgrace of defective diction, do you not also have those reprehensible solecisms in those very great and most wonderful books of yours? Do you not say in one place *haec utria*?⁷ and in another *hos utres*; *caelus*⁸ and *caelum*; *pileus* and *pileum*;⁹ *crocus*¹⁰ and *crocum*; *fretus*¹¹ and *fretum*? Has it not also been put by you, *hoc pane*¹² and *hic panis*; *hic sanguis* and *hoc sanguen*?¹³ Are not *candelabrum*¹⁴ and *iugulum*¹⁵ in like manner also written *iugulus* and *candelaber*? For if each noun cannot have more than one gender and if they cannot be of this gender and of that (for one gender cannot pass into another), he sins as much who pronounces masculine genders under the laws of feminines as the one who places masculine articles before feminine genders. And yet we see you using masculine objects in feminine manner and feminine objects in masculine manner, and what you call neuter both in this way and that with no distinction. Therefore, it is no fault for us to use these words indifferently and in vain do you say that our works are disfigured by the impropriety of solecisms, or if the manner in which each ought to be used is determined and fixed, you yourselves are involved in the same faults, although you have in your camp every Epicadus, Caesellius, Verrius, Scaurus, and Nisus.¹⁶

I strongly suspect that Arnobius had been reading one or more of the grammarians cited and had come upon a passage in which these instances of doubtful gender had been mentioned. It is less probable that he had made the collection himself, though, of course, as I hope to show later, it can be demonstrated that he possessed first-hand information of many classics of Latin literature, among which are Lucretius and the *De Natura Deorum* of Cicero.

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NOTES

¹ The best editions are those of August Reifferscheid in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 4 (Vienna, 1875) and that of Concetto Marchesi, which marks a great advance over Reifferscheid's, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Para-*

vianum, No. 62 (Torino, 1934). Both are now very difficult to obtain, the latter because the entire unsold stock was destroyed by bombing. An English translation by Hamilton Bryce and Hugh Campbell, who based their work on comparison of four editions, the latest of which was Oehler's (1864), appeared as vol. 19 of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (Edinburgh, 1871), reprinted in vol. 6 of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo, 1886). A bibliography of the literature down to 1886 was published by E. C. Richardson in the bibliographical supplement to the last-named work (Buffalo, 1887), 76-77. Another bibliography for the period 1875-1936, in which there are some lacunae, was published by Kevin Guinagh, *CW* 29 (1938), 69-70, 152—see also his article, "Justifying the Newer Edition of Arnobius," *PAPA* 67 (1936), xxxvii. A new English translation by the present writer will appear in "Ancient Christian Writers" (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Bookshop).

² Except for Guinagh, no writer in this hemisphere has, so far as I am aware, made any contribution to Arnobiana. Only seven copies of the Marchesi edition are recorded by the Union Catalogue in the Library of Congress.

³ Marouzeau, *L'Année Philologique* 14 (1939) cites an article by E. Schwentner, "Arnobius über das grammatische Geschlecht," *Wörter und Sachen* (Heidelberg 1939) 92-93, which I have not seen.

⁴ A characteristic repetition. Indeed, some editors are tempted to regard such a repetition as evidence of interpolation but there are too many instances to be explained by so easy a device.

⁵ See the unsigned note by L. Havet in *Rev. de Philol.*, n.s. 2 (1878), 64, which calls attention to the fact that this passage proves that the acute and grave were pronounced differently.

⁶ This reference is doubtless to Epicurus, a point

brought to my attention by my friend, Professor G. P. Else.

⁷ By Livius Andronicus. So far as it is complete, I have used the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; for later words see the Lewis and Short revision of the Freund-Andres *Harper's Latin Dictionary*.

⁸ *Caelus* is cited as occurring in Lucretius, Vitruvius, Petronius, and the grammarians Charisius and Diomedes.

⁹ *Pilleus* [sic] is cited as occurring in Plautus.

¹⁰ *Crocus* is cited from Vergil, Ovid, Propertius, and Juvenal, while *crocum* is cited from Sallust, Celsus, Pliny, Isidore of Seville, Charisius, Diomedes and Servius. Arnobius missed the opportunity to point out that Apuleius is credited with using this word in the feminine gender.

¹¹ *Fretus* is cited from Varro, Lucretius, Lucilius, Naevius, Cicero, Livy, and Jordanes but *fretum* is more usual and even occurs in Cicero.

¹² The neuter form appears in Plautus and Charisius.

¹³ *Sanguen* is cited from Ennius, Cicero, Cato, Varro, Lucretius, and Petronius.

¹⁴ *Candelaber* is cited by Harper's as an old form but the reference is this passage alone. He missed again the opportunity to call attention to *candelabrus*, a variant of *candelaber*, cited from Petronius.

¹⁵ *Iugulus* is cited from Juvenal; *iugulum* from Cicero and Tacitus.

¹⁶ These are all grammarians: (a) Cornelius Epicadus, a freedman of Sulla, mentioned by Charisius, Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 1. 110; (b) L. Caesellius Vindex (age of Hadrian), *RE* 3. 1305; (c) Verrius Flaccus (age of Augustus); (d) Q. Terentius Scaurus (first half of second century A.D.), *RE*, 2te Reihe. 5. 672-676; (e) Nisus, briefly mentioned by Charisius (Keil, 1. 28); by Priscian (2. 503); by Velius Longus (7. 76); and by Cassiodorus (7. 155).

LATIN INSTITUTE AT WILLIAM AND MARY

The Ninth Institute on the Teaching of Latin will be held this summer at The College of William and Mary for three weeks from June 23 through July 12. The work will include as heretofore curriculum study, observation of a demonstration class, laboratory instruction, and practice in the reading and speaking of Latin. Besides Professors Wagener and Ryan, regular members of the college faculty, Miss Gertrude J. Oppelt, Chairman of the Foreign Language Department in the South Side High School of Fort Wayne, Indiana, will be on the staff in charge of the demonstration class while Professor George E. Mylonas of Washington University, St. Louis, will be the visiting special lecturer.

After a lapse during the war years, the Institute was resumed last summer with an attendance of 26 teachers from the states of Indiana, Tennessee, South Carolina, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Florida, Arkansas, Georgia, New York, Kansas, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Michigan, Colorado. A special bulletin has been published which may be obtained by writing to Professor Wagener, Director of the Institute.

Homer's Conception of Fate

James Duffy

HOMER'S CONCEPTION of fate or destiny generally engages the attention of critics and commentators. It is conceded by them that the poet's conception of fate is the same in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The question whether or not fate or destiny is an overruling power to which the gods must bow has been earnestly discussed. Some critics believe that in the poems fate is absolute and stands above the gods.* One critic maintains that Zeus is at one time subject to Moira, and that at another time he takes her place as he spins out to men their fortune. Others say that the will of Zeus and fate are the same. Still others believe that fate and religion in general are used by Homer to suit his poetic needs.

However, Homer does not state that the power of fate is disassociated from Zeus and that it is an independent power in itself. Any-

thing that is effected by fate in the poems is also accomplished by the divine power which represents the highest deity, Zeus. There is no passage in the poems which unequivocally states that the gods are subordinated to fate. There are several passages in both poems which show that Zeus sends Moira, as will be seen later. In the poems nothing is ascribed to fate that the gods have not performed on several occasions. For example, the poet says that it was fated for Odysseus to return to his home, but it was Zeus who ordered his release.¹⁵ It is often plainly stated that Odysseus came to Ithaca by the help of the gods. The omnipotence of Zeus amounts almost to a dogma in Homer. It is Zeus who guides the destiny of the war in the *Iliad*. Homer never refers the issues of the struggle to Moira. It is Zeus who holds the balance of life and death in the strife. It is from him that victory comes.

* The most important exponent of this view is Nägelsbach.¹ Lehrs agrees with him and interprets Moira in the poems "die Menschen wie Götter beherrschende Macht, in deren Ordnungen und Notwendigkeiten alles seinen Gang nimmt."² Gruppe practically comes to the same conclusion as Nägelsbach and Lehrs.³ Schmid-Stählin says, "... dass die Götter Homers gar nicht letzte Instanz sind, sondern der Moira unterliegen . . ."⁴ Cornford states: "Already in Homer Zeus and the other Olympians are confronted by a power they cannot subordinate, called Destiny or Fate. Like Plato's Demiourgos the Homeric gods are not omnipotent; and it seems impossible to deduce from Homer any coherent account of the relation between their will and the thwarting opposition of Destiny."⁵ Hogarth⁶ maintains that Zeus is at one time subject to Moira and that another time he takes her place as he spins out to men their fortune. There are other writers who take a view contrary to this. Weckler⁷ says that fate and the will of Zeus are the same. Bohse⁸ comes to the same conclusion.

Sitzler⁹ states that the relationship between Zeus and fate is not clearly expressed, but that nowhere is there an opposition between the will of Zeus and fate. Farnell¹⁰ finds no difficulty in agreeing with this view. There are others again who believe that fate and religion in general are used by Homer to suit his poetic needs.¹¹ Drerup maintains that the poet uses the idea of fate for artistic purposes. He says, "Nach der Anschauung des Dichters also schwebt zwar über den Göttern das Schicksal als eine materielle Macht, in der dichterischen Komposition der epischen Handlung aber ist es nichts anderes als die konzentrierte poetische Idee, wonach der Ablauf der Handlung von vornherein geregelt ist."¹² Finsler says of fate that "Sie steht vielmehr ganz ausserhalb des Götterbereiches, eine Macht für sich, festgewurzelt im Glauben der Menschen . . ."¹³ and in relation to the gods he states, "Die Angaben über die Moira und ihr Verhältniss zu den Göttern widersprechen sich, und ein einheitliches Bild zu erlangen ist nicht möglich."¹⁴

He has in the floor of heaven two urns of good and evil from which he apportions blessings and sorrows to men.¹⁶ It is said more than once that Zeus and the gods give good and evil to men.¹⁷ There would be no meaning in the Homeric man's saying that Zeus is omnipotent and the lord of all¹⁸ if it were believed that he was subordinate to an unseen power called fate. This paper will show that it is nowhere directly stated in the poems that fate or destiny stands above the gods and that fate and the will of Zeus are identical.¹⁹

There are many words used by the poet to express his conception of what is allotted or destined for man, but the most common one is *Moirā*, which will be dealt with first. The word must be translated to suit the context of the passage in which it is found. It means death, fate, a share, or a portion.²⁰ *Moirā esti* (it is fated) is used impersonally in both poems; it refers directly to what is fated or destined for man. Helenus tells Hector that it is not yet his destiny to die.²¹ Ares says that it is his doom to be smitten with the bolt of Zeus and lie amongst the dead.²² One Trojan would say to another that they were perhaps fated to be slain beside Patroclus.²³ Achilles shall lie low like Heracles if fate has so fashioned it.²⁴ It is fated that Sarpedon be slain by Patroclus.²⁵ The harsh fate which was appointed Patroclus at birth had swallowed him up.²⁶ The same impersonal use is found in the *Odyssey*. Proteus tells Menelaus that it is not yet his fate to see his friends and country.²⁷ It is again stated that he is fated to reach his home.²⁸ It is the destiny of Odysseus that he escape to Phaeacia.²⁹ It is interesting to note that *Moirā* when used impersonally refers to death in the *Iliad* and to the return of Menelaus and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*.

The appellative use of *Moirā* is found frequently in both poems as the subject and object of a verb.³⁰ It is also found in connection with prepositions,³¹ and must be translated to suit the context. In almost all of these cases it may be translated 'according to right' or by an adverb, 'rightly' or 'duly.'

In the singular *Moirā* is definitely used with the meaning 'portion' or 'part' and refers

to different things: to a part of honour³² and to a night watch.³³ On one occasion it refers to the allotted share.³⁴ It is also found referring to a parcel of land.³⁵ In the *Odyssey* it refers to a share of spoil,³⁶ to food,³⁷ to reverence,³⁸ to sleep,³⁹ and to a part of a house.⁴⁰ In the plural the word refers to two watches of the night⁴¹ and also to portions of food.⁴²

Moirā is generally used in the poems with a bad signification.⁴³ It means death, which is often spoken of as the fulfilment of destiny.⁴⁴ The combination *thanatos kai moirā* occurs frequently in both poems.⁴⁵ It shows the close connection between death and *Moirā*. It is natural to suppose that *Moirā* brings death and fate more often in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey* on account of the nature of the subject matter in the poems.

Moirā Personified

SOME CRITICS believe that *Moirā* is personified twice in Homer.⁴⁶ It is probable enough that Farnell⁴⁷ is right when he states that where *Moirā* is used alone it may be regarded as an abbreviation of *moirā Dios* just as *Aisa* is an abbreviation of *aisa Dios*. In one of the passages in which *Moirā* is believed to be personified Apollo upbraids the gods about the death of Hector and says that the Fates have given to men an enduring soul.⁴⁸ In the other passage Andromache says that such an end did Fate spin for Hector with her thread at his beginning.⁴⁹ The suggestion of Farnell may be very well applied here as there are several passages in the poems which show that Zeus or the gods spin the thread of destiny for man at his birth. Menelaus says that the man is easily known for whom Cronion weaves the skein of luck at his marriage and at birth.⁵⁰ Agamemnon exclaims that Zeus from our birth dispenses to us the heaviness of toil.⁵¹ Telemachus tells Nestor that the gods have woven for him the web of no such happiness.⁵² Tiresias tells the destiny of heaven to Odysseus and says that the gods have spun all these threads.⁵³ Alcinoüs says that the gods have woven the skein of death for men.⁵⁴ Achilles tells Priam that the aged man's misery is the lot that the gods have spun for miserable men.⁵⁵ Eumaeus says that Odysseus

in the guise of a beggar has wandered through many cities and so has some god spun for him the thread of fate.⁶⁶

Not only is it shown in the poems that man's destiny at his birth is in the hands of Zeus and is not allotted to him by a power superior to Zeus, but it is expressly stated by the poet that destiny comes from a god or from Zeus. When the poet mentions a god or the gods, it must be interpreted as meaning Zeus since it is only the highest god who has the apportioning of fate.⁶⁷ Helenus tells Hector that the gods say that it is not yet his destiny to die.⁶⁸ A mighty god and forceful fate shall cause Achilles' death.⁶⁹ It would appear that even the gods are subject to the fate of Zeus; Ares says that even if it is his doom to be smitten with the bolt of Zeus and lie among the dead, he will avenge the death of his son.⁷⁰ The doom of the gods bound Clytemnestra to her ruin.⁷¹ The fate of the gods kept Menelaus away.⁷² The doom of the gods fettered Melampus.⁷³ The destiny of the gods killed the wooers.⁷⁴ It is recognized that Zeus can bring about their death;⁷⁵ he knows whether he will fulfil for them the evil day.⁷⁶ When Laertes hears that his son has slain the wooers, he exclaims that the gods in Olympus still bear sway.⁷⁷ Zeus sent *Moirā* to Ajax.⁷⁸ Zeus knows what is fated and what is not fated for man.⁷⁹ The evil doom of Zeus (*kake Dios aisa*) stood by Odysseus and his men to bring them many woes.⁸⁰ An evil doom of a god brought grief to Elpenor.⁸¹ The Achaeans would have won renown beyond the doom of Zeus (*Dios aisan*).⁸² Achilles is honored by the doom of Zeus.⁸³ Helen tells Hector that Zeus brings evil doom.⁸⁴ Hector says to Achilles that in no way does he know from Zeus the hour of his (Hector's) doom.⁸⁵ Zeus and all the gods know for which of the two the doom of death is appointed.⁸⁶ These passages distinctly show that Zeus sends *Moirā* to men. The omnipotence of Zeus is consistently recognized by the poet in both poems. In the *Iliad* *Moirā* is found joined with personal gods. Patroclus says that ruinous fate and the son of Leto has slain him.⁸⁷ Agamemnon states that Zeus, Destiny, and Erinyes put fierce

madness into his soul.⁸⁸ Fate and Hera's cruel wrath overcame Heracles.⁸⁹

On one occasion Homer states that the ruin of Troy was to be effected by *Aisa*.⁹⁰ In no other instance is the issue of the war referred to *Aisa*. Here, as in the instances already cited, *Aisa* must be regarded as an abbreviation of *Dios aisa*, since the poet distinctly assigns the destruction of the city to Zeus.⁹¹ Scarcely had Zeus brought to pass the ruin of Troy.⁹² Zeus hath laid low many a city;⁹³ it is he who can spare Troy.⁹⁴ The gods can grant its destruction.⁹⁵ It was the gods who brought about the fate of Ilium.⁹⁶

Fate and the Power of Zeus

THERE ARE TWO passages in the *Iliad* which have greatly exercised the minds of students. The difficulty has been caused by their attempt to reconcile the balancing of the fates and the general power of destiny with the omnipotence of Zeus. One passage states that the father balanced his scales and put therein two fates of death, one for the horse-taming Trojans and one for the mail-clad Achaeans; and he took the scale-yard and lifted, and the Achaeans' day of destiny sank down.⁹⁷ The other passage says that Zeus, who is the disposer of the wars of men, inclines his balance.⁹⁸ Neither passage can be taken in the sense that fate is the master of Zeus. There is an abundance of evidence in the poems which shows that it is Zeus who gives and takes away victory.⁹⁹ He grants destruction to the Greeks.¹⁰⁰ He gives victory and glory to the Trojans¹⁰¹ and sends discord amongst the Greeks¹⁰² and puts them to flight.¹⁰³ It is the Olympian who will drive back the assault.¹⁰⁴ Zeus is the highest orderer and helper in the fight.¹⁰⁵ He sent Athena to urge on the Achaeans; his mind was changed.¹⁰⁶ He gives and takes away valour, for he is lord of all.¹⁰⁷ It is not possible to fight against Cronus' son.¹⁰⁸ It is the gods who guide the threads of victory.¹⁰⁹ Passages of this sort leave no doubt that Zeus grants victory to whom he wishes and that he is not subject to any unseen power. As a matter of fact Zeus specifically uses Hector to bring defeat to the Greeks in the early part of the *Iliad*

to gratify the request of Thetis that her son be honored, and later inflicted defeat on the victorious Trojans.

It has been already shown that the homecoming of Odysseus is attributed to fate, but that the gods are entirely responsible for his return. It was Zeus who ordered the release of the hero.¹⁰⁰ The god also sent him a message to Ogygia to bid him to leave.¹⁰¹ The gods finally ordained that he return to Ithaca,¹⁰² but hindered him on his way.¹⁰³ Poseidon says that the gods have changed their purpose about his homecoming.¹⁰⁴ The gods finally delivered him from his evil state¹⁰⁵ and brought him to the home of a wise man.¹⁰⁶ The gods caused him to come home.¹⁰⁷ It was Zeus who ordered Odysseus' release; therefore, when it is said that it was fated that Odysseus return to Ithaca, we must assume that the will of Zeus and fate are identical.

Zeus Thwarted?

THERE IS ONE particular passage in the *Iliad* which is quoted¹⁰⁸ in an endeavour to show that the will of Zeus is thwarted by the inexorable decrees of destiny. The passage reads:—"Ah, woe is me," cries Zeus, "for that it is fated that Sarpedon, the best-loved of men to me, shall be subdued under Patroclus, son of Menoetius."¹⁰⁹ The whole passage was rejected by Zenodotus on the grounds that Hera, to whom Zeus is speaking, had left Ida and that no mention is made of her return. Aristarchus considered the passage to be genuine, but he makes no comment as to whether Zeus must yield to fate or not. When Zeus had spoken, Hera remonstrated with him and asked him if he desired to deliver from death Sarpedon long doomed to fate. She went on to say that if Zeus sends the hero living to his own house, he must consider that some other god might send his son out of the strong battle. This remonstrance of Hera shows that it is the power of Zeus to save Sarpedon if he wishes. The whole meaning is that Zeus ought not to interfere with the ordinary course of events which was unfavorable to Sarpedon and that his own previous decision must not be thwarted.¹¹⁰ The

passage cannot mean that fate had decided against Zeus in this matter. If it were true that Zeus had nothing to do with the fate of Sarpedon, it would follow that he would be unable to deal with situations of a similar nature. We do not find this to be true; it has been shown above that Zeus spins the threads of destiny for man.

There are several instances in the poems where it is specifically stated that the gods bring on death unimpeded by any power of fate. Hector tells Helen that he does not know whether the gods will overthrow him at the hands of the Achaeans.¹¹¹ Zeus pitied Agamemnon and granted that he and his people would not perish.¹¹² Zeus knows whether he will fulfill for the wooers the evil day.¹¹³ Patroclus says that death and fate have overtaken him¹¹⁴ and that ruinous fate and Leto's son have slain him.¹¹⁵ On another occasion he says that he met the fate that was appointed him before his birth.¹¹⁶ Here Patroclus' death is ascribed to fate; yet the poet tells us that the gods called Patroclus to his death.¹¹⁷ Thetis says that he was brought low by the will of the gods.¹¹⁸ It was the gods also who had willed the death of Archilochus.¹¹⁹ Achilles said that the gods had granted him to kill Hector.¹²⁰ The god gave Lycaon into Achilles' hands to be slain.¹²¹ It was Zeus who had laid on Ajax his doom.¹²²

Aisa and Moira

Aisa is another word which Homer uses for fate or destiny.¹²³ It is used in the same way as *Moira*. It is used in the impersonal construction on several occasions in both poems.¹²⁴ In the *Odyssey* it is entirely concerned with the homecoming of Odysseus, but in the *Iliad* it brings death or means death. It is used appellatively¹²⁵ in the same way as *Moira* either as the subject or object of a verb. It also means 'part,' 'share,' or 'lot.' In its meaning of 'share' or 'portion' it may apply to the most diverse things.¹²⁶ It is also found in conjunction with prepositions¹²⁷ and is modified by the same kind of adjectives as *Moira* is.¹²⁸ *Aisa* is considered by some critics to be personified twice in the poems. In one passage Hera says that Achilles shall

suffer whatever fate span for him.¹²⁹ In the other it is said that fate and the spinning sisters drew off the spindles sufferings for Odysseus.¹³⁰

From *aisa* come the adjectives *enaisimos*, *aisimos*, and *aisios*. Of these adjectives *aisios* is found only once in the poems where it refers to a person¹³¹ and means 'lucky' or 'auspicious.' *Aisimos* is used with the same implication as *aisa*. In the *Iliad* it generally refers to death. Odysseus says that he is afraid that it is destined for the Achaeans to perish at Troy.¹³² Poseidon tells Achilles that it is not his destiny to be vanquished by a river.¹³³ Hector's fated day sank down to the house of Hades.¹³⁴ The day of the suitors' doom was at hand.¹³⁵ In a number of these instances *aisimon* is used impersonally and is equivalent to the impersonal *Moirai* and *Aisa*. In the neuter plural it has an ethical meaning and refers to the right amount or due measure.¹³⁶

Enaisimos has the same meaning as *aisimos* and is used in the same way. It is used with its ethical meaning throughout both poems.¹³⁷

Doom and Death

MOROS is derived from the same root as *Moirai* and almost invariably means death in both poems. When dread doom comes on Achilles, he shall have good armor.¹³⁸ Achilles says that all his foes shall meet an evil doom.¹³⁹ Hector tells Achilles that he has not known from Zeus the hour of his doom.¹⁴⁰ Thetis was wailing for the fate of her son.¹⁴¹ The remnant escaped death and destiny.¹⁴² It was Aegisthus that wrought death and doom for Agamemnon.¹⁴³ *Moros* is not personified in the poems. The impersonal expression *moros esti* is found in the *Iliad*.¹⁴⁴

The compound *Ainomoros* is used twice in the *Odyssey* and once in the *Iliad*. In the former poem it refers to Odysseus and his men, by whose side stood the evil doom of Zeus,¹⁴⁵ and to the suitors, who were ill-fated.¹⁴⁶ In the *Iliad* it refers to Andromache.¹⁴⁷ *Dusmoros*, which is used in both poems,¹⁴⁸ refers on all occasions to some ill-fated person. Another compound of *moros* is *okumoros*. It is used in

the *Iliad* in reference to Achilles¹⁴⁹ and as an epithet of arrows. In the *Odyssey*¹⁵⁰ we find it referring to the wooers and to arrows.

Hypermoron is found in both poems. It is written as one word and as two (*hyper* and the accusative of *moros*) and is translated 'beyond what is fated or ordained.' The expressions *hyper moiran* and *hyper aisan* are found in the poems also and have a like meaning. The passages¹⁵¹ in which these expressions are found are as follows:—

"Lo, you now, how vainly do mortals blame the gods. For of us they say evil comes, whereas they even themselves, through blindness of their own hearts, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained (*hyper moron*). Even as of late Aegisthus, beyond what is ordained (*hyper moron*), took to him the wedded wife of the son of Atreus and killed her lord on his return."¹⁵²

"... I fear me lest he overleap the bounds of fate (*hypermoron*) and storm the wall."¹⁵³

There of a truth would luckless Odysseus have perished beyond that which was ordained (*hypermoron*), had not grey-eyed Athena given him sure counsel.¹⁵⁴

Then would the Argives have accomplished their return against the will of fate (*hyper-mora*), but that Hera spake a word to Athena.¹⁵⁵

... but when the sun turned to the time of the loosing of oxen, lo, then beyond their doom (*hyper aisan*) the Achaeans proved the better.¹⁵⁶

Then would the Trojans... have been driven back into Ilium by the Achaeans... and the Argives would have won glory even against the appointment of Zeus (*hyper aisan*) by their power and might.¹⁵⁷

"Rather withdraw thee whensoever thou fallest in with him, lest even contrary to thy fate (*hyper aisan*) thou enter the house of Hades."¹⁵⁸

It will be noticed that three¹⁵⁹ of these seven passages are conditional and that they refer to unrealized possibilities in the past. Two of the passages refer to the future. In these five passages the expression means 'contrary to destiny.' None of the passages refers to any incident that actually came to pass. Nowhere in the poems does anything happen contrary to fate. One passage¹⁶⁰ seems to contradict this statement, but the word *aisan*

must be translated to suit the context. The translation in the face of the evidence already adduced cannot be strictly 'fate' or 'destiny.' A more suitable rendering under the circumstances would be 'beyond measure,' i.e., 'beyond expectation.'¹⁶¹ Sometimes these expressions are merely rhetorical.¹⁶²

In a note to the passage in the *Odyssey* in which Zeus says that men bring sufferings upon themselves Merry and Riddell¹⁶³ state that this is a sort of popular solution of the difficulty in reconciling divine power with human free will. There was, they go on to say, a certain amount of inevitable fate ordained as each man's lot, but this fate could be aggravated or hastened by human misconduct. Farnell¹⁶⁴ states that the passage at once maintains the free action of man and the identity of *Moirai* with Zeus' will. Zeus, he says, complains that men wrongly accuse the gods of evil which they suffer through their own sins; they suffer *hyper moron*, 'contrary to what fate or the gods intended.'¹⁶⁵ The portion or share is the allotment of every man, but he may engross more than his share. This excessive indulgence by man beyond what is his lot gives rise to the expressions mentioned above. When man oversteps the share that is apportioned him in life, the responsibility is his own and not the gods'¹⁶⁶ as man in Homer is more or less a free agent.'¹⁶⁷

The adjective *morismos* is used of the wooer that is fated to marry Penelope.¹⁶⁸ Twice it modifies the noun day:—the destined day before which Odysseus shall not go to Hades¹⁶⁹ and the day of destiny which Athena was urging against Hector.¹⁷⁰ It refers to Apollo in the *Iliad*¹⁷¹ and to Odysseus in a passage where it is said that he was not destined to slay the son of Zeus.¹⁷² Xanthus tells Achilles that he is fated to be overcome by a god and a man.¹⁷³

There are some parts of the verb *meiromai*, from which *moira* and *meros* are derived, used in a manner similar to the use of these nouns. The verb is used in the perfect tense twice in the *Iliad*¹⁷⁴ with the genitive case and it governs the Greek word for honour. The same tense is found twice in the *Odyssey*¹⁷⁵ where it governs the same noun. It is also used in

the imperative mood¹⁷⁶ and governs the same noun as in the examples just mentioned. The impersonal use is found in the pluperfect tense. Its use in this tense is the same as the impersonal use of the nouns that are derived from it, and it refers to the fate of death.¹⁷⁷ *Peptotai*, which is the perfect tense of *por-*,¹⁷⁸ occurs in the perfect participle with *esti*.¹⁷⁹ The participle is used impersonally in *aisa*.¹⁸⁰ There is also the expression *thesphaton esti*, which is used in the singular and plural. In the singular it has the meaning 'it is fated' and refers to Menelaus when Proteus tells him that he is destined to go to the Elysian fields.¹⁸¹ Circe told Odysseus that he was destined to go to his native land.¹⁸² In the *Iliad*¹⁸³ Zeus tells Hera what is fated for the contending armies. In the plural¹⁸⁴ the most suitable translation appears to be 'the ordinances of Zeus.'

Impersonal Destiny

IN THEIR EFFORTS to show that fate or destiny is an unseen power to which the gods must bow, the critics mention the fact that *moira* and *aisa* are personified twice in the poems.¹⁸⁵ When this so-called personification is compared with that of other abstractions found in the poems, it must be concluded that it is incomplete. Homer never mentions *moira* or *aisa* as goddesses. There are no epithets applied to *Moirai* and *Aisa* which would suggest that they are goddesses, nor is there any mention of parentage as in the case of *Litai*. They are in no way active participants in the action of the poems, nor is there any act ascribed to them which is not accomplished by Zeus or the gods. In fine, fate or destiny is altogether wanting in any of the characteristics which may be ascribed to a person. In this, fate is entirely different from the personifications of other abstractions in Homer.

We find that the personified *Deimos* and *Phobos* yoke the horses of Ares as if they were ordinary beings.¹⁸⁶ *Ossa* blazed forth in the midst of the Achaeans and urged them to leave Troy.¹⁸⁷ *Ossa* announces the death of the wooers throughout the city.¹⁸⁸ Zeus addresses the dream (*Oneiros*) as if it were a person.¹⁸⁹ *Hypnos* and *Thanatos* are real active

beings; they transport the dead Sarpedon from the battlefield to Lycia.¹⁹⁰ Hypnos appears again as a real person when Hera meets him and clasps his hands in hers and promises him one of the graces for his wife if he sheds sleep over Zeus.¹⁹¹ When Homer speaks of *Litai*, he states that they are the daughters of Zeus¹⁹² and endows them with the qualities of a person. *Ate* is strong and fleet of foot.¹⁹³ Delicate are her feet; she walks over the heads of men.¹⁹⁴ Zeus seized *Ate* by the bright-haired head, and whirling her in his hand flung her from the starry heaven and quickly came she down amid the works of men.¹⁹⁵ In three passages we find also a personal *Themis*.¹⁹⁶ Hera accepted a cup from fair-cheeked *Themis*, for she came running to meet her.¹⁹⁷ At the bidding of Zeus, she called a meeting of the gods.¹⁹⁸ She dissolves the assemblies of men.¹⁹⁹ The gods also disguise themselves in human form in their visits to men.²⁰⁰

Fate or destiny cannot be looked upon in Homer as having its centre in the undefined or in power, nor does it acquire a personality which manifests itself by exercising a power beyond and above the gods.²⁰¹ The prayers of the Homeric heroes are not addressed to fate or to any unseen power, but are directed to Zeus except for a few which are offered to other Olympians.²⁰² No character ever expresses a belief in a power called fate by which Zeus and the other Olympians are confronted and which they cannot subordinate. The only solution for the much-discussed question of fate or destiny in Homer is to interpret it as an abbreviation of *Dios moira* or *Dios aisa* as originating from Zeus²⁰³ and so regard fate and the will of Zeus as identical.

NOTES

¹ *Homerische Theologie*, Nürnberg, 1840, p. 143. Cf. W. C. Greene, *Moirai*, Cambridge, 1944, p. 15.

² *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Altertum*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 201.

³ *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, Vol. 2.

⁴ *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur*, München, 1929, p. 110.

⁵ *Plato's Cosmology*, London, 1937, p. 361.

⁶ *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 1, p. 54.

⁷ *Götterlehre*, Göttingen, 1851, Vol. 1, p. 187.

⁸ "Die Moira bei Homer," *Beilage zum III Jahresbericht des Kgl. Westgymnasiums Zu Berlin*, p. 22.

⁹ *Kommentar zu Homers Odyssee*, 3 Aufl., p. 241.

¹⁰ *The Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896-1909, Vol. 1, p. 79.

¹¹ *Pauly-Wissowa*, Bd. 11, p. 2190. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹² *Homerische Poetik*, Würzburg, 1921, Vol. 1, p. 420. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 416 and Belzner, *Homerische Probleme*, Vol. 1, p. 102 and Vol. 2, p. 113.

¹³ *Homer*, Leipzig, 1928, 1. 273.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁵ *Od.*, 5. 112.

¹⁶ *Il.*, 24. 527.

¹⁷ *Il.*, 10. 71. Cf. *Il.*, 10. 87; 24. 538; *Od.*, 15. 489; 18. 134.

¹⁸ *Il.*, 20. 242.

¹⁹ Some of the passages in which the conception of *Moirai* is expressed have already been collected (Eberhard, *Das Schicksal als poetische Idee bei Homer*), but in this case they have been worked out independently.

²⁰ According to Boisacq (*Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque*, p. 621), *μοῖρα*, in its derivation, is connected with *μερίζω* 'obtenir en partage.'

²¹ *Il.*, 7. 52.

²² *Il.*, 15. 117.

²³ *Il.*, 17. 421.

²⁴ *Il.*, 18. 119.

²⁵ *Il.*, 16. 434.

²⁶ *Il.*, 23. 80.

²⁷ *Od.*, 4. 475.

²⁸ *Od.*, 5. 41, 114; 9. 532.

²⁹ *Od.*, 5. 345.

³⁰ *Il.*, 3. 101; 4. 517; 5. 83, 613, 629; 12. 116; 13. 602; 16. 334, 849, 853; 17. 421, 478, 672; 18. 120; 19. 87, 410; 21. 83, 110; 22. 5, 303, 436; 24. 49, 132, 209. *Od.*, 2. 100; 3. 238, 269; 11. 292; 17. 326; 19. 145; 20. 76; 21. 24; 22. 413; 24. 29, 135.

³¹ *Il.*, *ἐν μοῖρῃ* 19. 186; *κατὰ μοῖραν* 1. 286; 8. 146; 9. 59; 10. 169; 15. 206; 16. 367; 19. 256; 23. 626; 24. 279. *Od.*, *ἐν μοῖρῃ* 22. 54; *κατὰ μοῖραν* 2. 251; 3. 331, 457; 4. 266, 783; 7. 227; 8. 54, 141, 397, 496; 9. 245, 309, 342, 352; 10. 16; 12. 35; 13. 48, 385; 15. 170, 203; 16. 385; 17. 580; 18. 170; 20. 37; 21. 278; 22. 486; *παρὰ μοῖραν* 14. 509.

³² *Il.*, 9. 318.

³³ *Il.*, 10. 253.

³⁴ *Il.*, 15. 195.

³⁵ *Il.*, 16. 68.

³⁶ 5. 41; 11. 534.

³⁷ 14. 448; 17. 258, 335; 20. 281, 293.

³⁸ 20. 171.

³⁹ 19. 592.

⁴⁰ 4. 97.

⁴¹ *Il.*, 10. 253.

⁴² *Od.*, 3. 40, 66; 8. 470; 15. 140; 17. 423; 20. 260, 280.

⁴³ The epithets applied to *Moirai* are: *Il.*, *κραταίη* 5. 83, 629; 16. 334, 853; 19. 410; 20. 477; 21. 110; 24. 132, 209; *δυσώνυμος* 12. 116; *κακή* 13. 602; *δλοῖή* 22. 5; *στυγερή* 23. 79; *δλοή* 16. 849; 21. 83. *Od.*, *χαλεπή* 11. 292; *δλοή* 2. 100; 3. 238; 24. 29, 135. Cf. W. F. Otto,

Die Götter Griechenlands, Bonn, 1929, pp. 343 ff.; Ulrich von Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenes*, I, 359 ff.

⁴⁴ Il., 3. 101; 4. 517; 5. 83, 613, 629; 12. 116; 13. 602; 16. 334, 849, 853; 17. 421, 478, 672; 18. 119, 120; 19. 87, 410; 20. 477; 21. 83, 110; 22. 5, 303, 436; 24. 132, 209. Od., 2. 100; 3. 238, 269; 11. 292, 560; 21. 24; 17. 326; 19. 145; 20. 76; 22. 413; 24. 29, 135.

⁴⁵ Il., 3. 101; 5. 83; 13. 602; 16. 334, 853; 17. 478, 672; 20. 477; 21. 110; 22. 436; 14. 132. Od., 17. 326; 20. 242; 21. 24.

⁴⁶ Il., 24. 49, 209. Eberhard (*op. cit.*, p. 3) cannot be correct in this.

⁴⁷ *Cults* . . . , Vol. I, p. 79.

⁴⁸ Il., 24. 49. ⁴⁹ Il., 24. 209. ⁵⁰ Od., 4. 207. ⁵¹ Il., 10. 71. ⁵² Od., 3. 208. ⁵³ Od., 11. 139. ⁵⁴ Od., 8. 579. ⁵⁵ Il., 24. 525. ⁵⁶ Od., 16. 64.

⁵⁷ Athena is mentioned as hastening the day of the doom of the wooers.

⁵⁸ Il., 7. 52. ⁵⁹ Il., 19. 410. ⁶⁰ Il., 15. 117. ⁶¹ Od., 3. 269. ⁶² Od., 4. 475. ⁶³ Od., 11. 292. ⁶⁴ Od., 22. 413. ⁶⁵ Od., 15. 180. ⁶⁶ Od., 15. 523. ⁶⁷ Od., 24. 352. Cf. Od., 16. 297; 20. 42; 24. 444; 19. 488, 496.

⁶⁸ Od., 11. 560. ⁶⁹ Od., 20. 76. ⁷⁰ Od., 9. 52. ⁷¹ Od., 11. 61. ⁷² Il., 17. 321. ⁷³ Il., 9. 608.

⁷⁴ Il., 6. 357. ⁷⁵ Il., 22. 280. ⁷⁶ Il., 3. 309. ⁷⁷ 16. 849. ⁷⁸ Il., 19. 87. ⁷⁹ Il., 18. 119. ⁸⁰ Od., 8. 511. ⁸¹ Il., 13. 625. ⁸² Od., 3. 119. ⁸³ Il., 9. 24.

⁸⁴ Il., 15. 215. ⁸⁵ Il., 1. 18; 9. 136, 278. ⁸⁶ Od., 8. 579.

⁸⁷ Il., 8. 69. Cf. Il., 16. 658. Cf. Leaf's note to Il., 8. 69.

⁸⁸ Il., 19. 223. A similar use of the scales of Zeus is found in Il., 22. 209. The casting of lots into the scales here cannot be interpreted as a questioning of the superior will of fate, for Zeus never does this elsewhere. Cf. Farnell, *Cults* . . . , I, 78. The rise and fall of scales is a metaphor used to express the vicissitudes of battle. Cf. Leaf's note ad loc.

⁸⁹ Il., 4. 84; 8. 175. ⁹⁰ Od., 3. 152; 8. 82; Il., 7. 478. ⁹¹ Il., 11. 318; 16. 121. ⁹² Il., 11. 3; 13. 812.

⁹³ Il., 11. 406. ⁹⁴ Il., 12. 275. ⁹⁵ Il., 17. 339. ⁹⁶ Il., 17. 545. ⁹⁷ Il., 20. 242. ⁹⁸ Il., 21. 193.

⁹⁹ Il., 7. 102. ¹⁰⁰ Od., 5. 112. ¹⁰¹ Od., 7. 263. ¹⁰² Od., 1. 17. ¹⁰³ Od., 1. 195. ¹⁰⁴ Od., 5. 286.

¹⁰⁵ Od., 13. 321; 16. 364. ¹⁰⁶ Od., 14. 357.

¹⁰⁷ Od., 16. 356; 21. 196; 23. 258; 24. 149, 401. Cf. Od., 9. 38, 262; 14. 235; 17. 424; 19. 80.

¹⁰⁸ James Adams (*Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 25) cites this passage as an example of the superiority of fate over Zeus. Other commentators arrive at the same conclusion.

¹⁰⁹ Il., 16. 433.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Farnell, *Cults* . . . , I, 80.

¹¹¹ Il., 11. 366. ¹¹² Il., 8. 243. ¹¹³ Od., 15. 523.

¹¹⁴ Il., 16. 849. ¹¹⁵ Il., 17. 478, 672. ¹¹⁶ Il., 23. 80.

¹¹⁷ Il., 16. 693. ¹¹⁸ Il., 19. 9. ¹¹⁹ Il., 14. 464.

¹²⁰ Il., 22. 379. Cf. Il., 22. 60; 13. 783; 21. 216.

¹²¹ Il., 21. 47. ¹²² Od., 11. 555.

¹²³ Boisacq (*op. cit.*, p. 28) gives the meaning of Aisa as 'lot,' 'destinée,' 'la partie égale.'

¹²⁴ Il., 1. 416; 16. 707; 24. 224; Od., 5. 113, 206, 288; 13. 306; 14. 359; 15. 276; 23. 315.

¹²⁵ Il., 5. 209; 22. 61, 179; 24. 428, 750. Od., 8. 511; 9. 52; 10. 61.

¹²⁶ In Il., 9. 378 *aisa* is used with *καρὸς*. It means a share of government in Il., 15. 209 and of booty in Il., 18. 327. In Od., 16. 101; 19. 84 it is used with *ἐλπίδος*. It also means a share of booty in Od., 13. 138.

¹²⁷ *κατ' αἶσαν*, Il., 3. 59; 6. 333; 10. 445; 17. 716. *ὑπὲρ αἶσαν*, Il., 3. 59; 6. 333.

¹²⁸ *ἀργαλήν*, Il., 22. 61; *κακῇ*, Il., 5. 209; Od., 9. 52; 11. 61.

¹²⁹ Il., 20. 127. ¹³⁰ Od., 7. 197. ¹³¹ Il., 24. 376.

¹³² Il., 9. 245. ¹³³ Il., 21. 291. ¹³⁴ Il., 22. 212.

¹³⁵ Od., 16. 280. Cf. Il., 8. 72; 21. 100.

¹³⁶ Il., 6. 62; 7. 121; 15. 207. Od., 5. 9; 7. 310; 8. 348; 15. 71; 21. 294; 22. 46. On one occasion it is feminine modifying woman and meaning 'righteous,' Od., 23. 14.

¹³⁷ Il., 2. 353; 6. 521; 24. 40, 425. Od., 2. 122; 5. 190; 7. 299; 10. 383; 17. 321, 363; 18. 220. On one occasion the word refers to birds of omen, Od., 2. 182. It is used in the neuter plural referring to words of prophecy, Od., 2. 159.

¹³⁸ Il., 18. 465. ¹³⁹ Il., 21. 133. ¹⁴⁰ Il., 22. 280.

¹⁴¹ Il., 24. 85. ¹⁴² Od., 9. 61.

¹⁴³ Od., 11. 409. Cf. 11. 618; 16. 421; 20. 241.

¹⁴⁴ 19. 421. *μόρος* is modified in the *Iliad* by *αἰνός*, 18. 465; *κακόν*, 6. 357; 21. 133; and in the *Odyssey* by *κακός*, 1. 166; 11. 618.

¹⁴⁵ 9. 51. ¹⁴⁶ 24. 169.

¹⁴⁷ 22. 481. ¹⁴⁸ Il., 22. 60, 481; Od., 1. 49; 7. 270; 16. 139; 20. 194; 24. 290.

¹⁴⁹ 1. 417, 505; 18. 95, 458. ¹⁵⁰ 1. 266; 4. 346; 17. 137.

¹⁵¹ The translations used in these passages are: *Iliad*, Lang, Leaf, and Myers; *Odyssey*, Butcher and Lang.

¹⁵² Od., 1. 34 f. ¹⁵³ Il., 20. 30.

¹⁵⁴ Od., 5. 436 f. ¹⁵⁵ Il., 2. 155 f.

¹⁵⁶ Il., 16. 779 f. ¹⁵⁷ Il., 17. 319 ff.

¹⁵⁸ Il., 20. 335 ff. ¹⁵⁹ Il., 2. 155 f.; 17. 319 ff. Od., 5. 436 f.

¹⁶⁰ Il., 16. 779 f. ¹⁶¹ See Leaf's note ad loc.

¹⁶² Welcker (*Götterlehre*, I, 192) says, "*ὑπὲρ μόρον* nichts anders als ein hyperbolischer Ausdruck, wie zuweilen, unmenschlich, unnatürlich unmässig mehr als zufällig . . ."

¹⁶³ *Homer's Odyssey*, Bks. I-XII, Oxford, 1886, I, 34 f. ¹⁶⁴ *Cults* . . . , I, 80.

¹⁶⁵ Nitzsch (*Anm. zu Homers Odyssee*, I, 11) says that *ὑπὲρ μόρον* means "mehr als das allgemeines Schicksal ihnen zuteilt, als ihnen von Anfang bestimmt." Cf. Eberhard, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and W. F. Otto, *op. cit.*, pp. 350, 355.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, Oxford, 1925, p. 168.

¹⁶⁷ Finaler, *Homer*, I², 80; Nilsson, "Götter und Psychologie bei Homer," *Archiv für Religionsw.*, 22 (1923-24).
¹⁶⁸ *Od.*, 16. 392; 21. 162.

¹⁶⁹ *Od.*, 10. 175.

¹⁷⁰ *Il.*, 15. 613. Death does not come before the appointed day: *Il.*, 3. 101; 7. 52; 22. 303; 1. 416; 6. 487; 21. 291; 23. 80. *Od.*, 4. 562; 10. 175; 16. 280.

¹⁷¹ 22. 13. ¹⁷² *Il.*, 5. 674. ¹⁷³ *Il.*, 19. 417.

¹⁷⁴ 9. 616; 15. 189. ¹⁷⁵ 5. 335; 11. 338. ¹⁷⁶ *Il.*, 9. 616.

¹⁷⁷ *Il.*, 21. 281. *Od.*, 1. 34; 5. 312. ¹⁷⁸ *Il.*, 18. 329.

¹⁷⁹ *Il.*, 3. 309. ¹⁸⁰ *Il.*, 16. 441. ¹⁸¹ *Od.*, 4. 561.

¹⁸² *Od.*, 10. 473. ¹⁸³ 8. 477.

¹⁸⁴ *Il.*, 5. 64; *Od.*, 9. 507; 11. 151, 297; 13. 172.

¹⁸⁵ *μοῖρα Il.*, 24. 49, 209. *αἶσα Il.*, 20. 127; *Od.*, 7.

¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁶ *Il.*, 15. 119. Cf. *Il.*, 4. 440.

¹⁸⁷ *Il.*, 2. 93.

¹⁸⁸ *Od.*, 24. 413.

¹⁸⁹ *Il.*, 2. 8. Cf. *Il.*, 2. 21; 10. 496 ff.; 23. 63 ff.; *Od.*, 4. 787 ff.; 6. 13 ff.; 19. 509 ff.

¹⁹⁰ *Il.*, 16. 571. ¹⁹¹ *Il.*, 14. 233. ¹⁹² *Il.*, 9. 502 ff.

¹⁹³ *Il.*, 9. 505. ¹⁹⁴ *Il.*, 19. 91. ¹⁹⁵ *Il.*, 19. 126 ff.

¹⁹⁶ For the meaning of *θῆμις* in Homer see John L. Myers, *The Political Ideas of the Greeks*, New York, 1927, pp. 126-139.

¹⁹⁷ *Il.*, 15. 87 ff. ¹⁹⁸ *Il.*, 20. 4 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *Od.*, 2. 68 ff.

²⁰⁰ In the *Iliad* the gods assume the forms of sixteen persons as in 3. 386; 4. 86; 13. 45; 16. 715; 22. 227; etc.

²⁰¹ Fate cannot be compared with *δαίμων*, which is power and which has its center in the undefined, but has individuality conferred upon it when it refers to some god or one of the immortal gods. Cf. *Il.*, 3. 420.

²⁰² About thirty-four prayers are directed to Zeus, eleven to Athena, five to Apollo, two to Poseidon and Artemis, one to Thetis, and two to the Nymphs.

²⁰³ *Διὸς τέρας Il.*, 5. 742; 12. 209; *Od.*, 16. 320; 20. 101. *Διὸς ὄρα Il.*, 3. 107. *Διὸς ἀγῶς Il.*, 13. 837. *Διὸς ἐπερμῆς Il.*, 15. 593; 24. 570, 586. *Διὸς θέμιστας Il.*, 1. 238; 2. 206; 9. 99; *Od.*, 16. 403. *ἐκ Διὸς μέτρον Il.*, 22. 280. *ἐπεὶ Διὸς αἶσαν Il.*, 17. 321. Cf. *Il.*, 2. 134; 12. 37; 14. 417; 15. 379; *Od.*, 9. 111, 410; 24. 344.

A NEW SCHOLARLY PROJECT

UNDER THE AUSPICES of the Committee on Renaissance Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, of the American Philological Association, and of the Mediaeval Academy of America, a group of scholars has begun work on a list of Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations from the Greek, and of Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Commentaries on Greek and Latin Authors who wrote before 600 A.D.

The Editorial Board consists of the following scholars: Robert J. Clements, Dept. of Romance Languages, Harvard University; Mario E. Cosenza, Dean of the Faculty, Brooklyn College; James Hutton, Dept. of Classics, Cornell University; Pearl Kibre, Dept. of History, Hunter College; Paul Oskar Kristeller, Dept. of Philosophy, Columbia University; Dean P. Lockwood, Dept. of Classics, Haverford College; Martin McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School, Catholic University of America; Berthe Marti, Dept. of Classics, Bryn Mawr College; Robert V. Merrill, Dept. of Romance Languages, University of Chicago; Eva M. Sanford, Division of Social Studies, Sweet Briar College; John

J. Savage, Dept. of Classics, Fordham University; Joseph R. Strayer, Dept. of History, Princeton University; Archer Taylor, Dept. of German, University of California; S. Harrison Thomson, Dept. of History, University of Colorado; B. L. Ullman, Dept. of Classics, University of North Carolina.

The aim is to assemble pertinent data from both printed and manuscript sources. The work, when completed, will illustrate the history of classical scholarship in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and the fortune of individual ancient authors during those periods. Each ancient author will form the subject of a separate article, and each collaborator will be in charge of one or several articles.

Classical scholars who are interested are invited to indicate to Professor B. L. Ullman of the University of North Carolina whether they are interested in taking part. If interested, they are asked to name the ancient author or authors for whom they would like to be responsible, giving first, second, and even third choices. This will greatly facilitate the task of assigning authors.



FIGURE 1. ANY WALK AROUND THE FORUM HAD BEST BEGIN WITH A SURVEY FROM THAT NATURAL LOOKOUT POINT, THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE PALATINE. IN 1935 MISS GEORGIA FIRST TOOK THIS PICTURE FROM THERE. IT ENABLES US TO PUT IN PLACE MOST OF THE MORE DETAILED PICTURES THAT FOLLOW AND TOGETHER THEY ILLUSTRATE DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN 1935 AND LATE SUMMER, 1939, WHEN THE OTHERS WERE TAKEN.

THE ROMAN FORUM

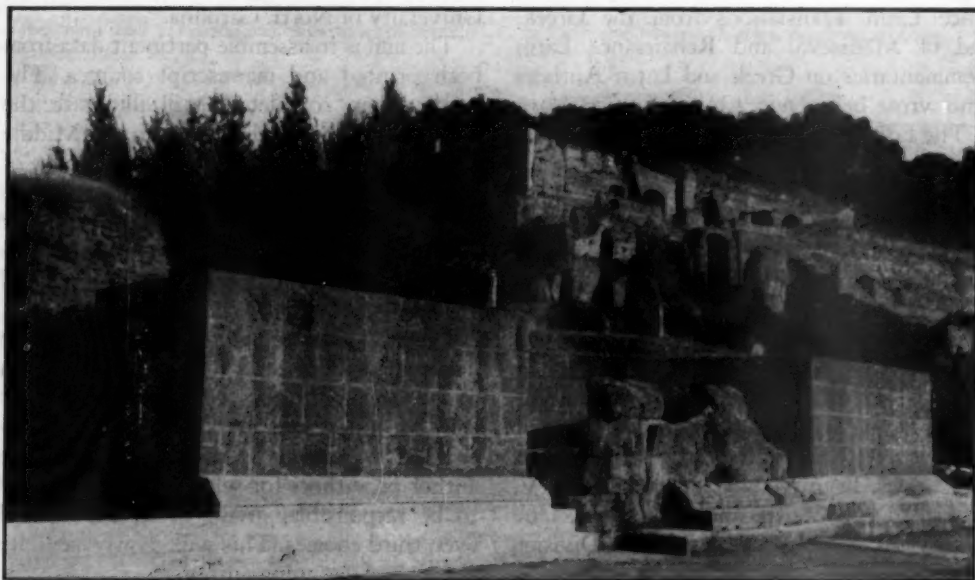




FIGURE 3. IN FRONT OF THE TEMPLE OF VESTA, CROWDED BETWEEN THE SIDE OF THE TEMPLE OF THE DEIFIED JULIUS AND THE STEPS OF THE TEMPLE OF THE CASTORS, IS A SORRY RUIN, UNCHANGED OF LATE, BUT OFTEN MISSED BY PASSERS-BY, THE ONCE IMPRESSIVE TRIPLE ARCH OF AUGUSTUS. BEHIND, THE SHAPELESS MASS OF THE CASTORS; AT THE RIGHT, THE BASILICA JULIA; AND ABOVE, ONE HEIGHT OF THE CAPITOLINE, WHENCE "JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS" DOMINATED ALL BELOW.

A Stroll Around the Roman Forum

An Album of Views

by Shirley Smith
(Copyright)

FIGURE 2. FACING THE FORUM AT ITS EAST END, OUT OF MISS FIRST'S PICTURE, IS THE TEMPLE OF THE DEIFIED JULIUS, WITH FRONT NEWLY REFURBISHED. THE CURVE IN THE WALL EMBRACES THE SPOT WHERE, UNPLANNED, CAESAR'S BODY WAS BURNED BY THE POPULACE. THE TOP CENTER SHOWS OUR PALATINE VANTAGE-POINT, AND BETWEEN, NEARLY SHUT OFF BY THE BUSHES SPRINGING OUT OF THE TEMPLE PODIUM, THE PARTLY-RECONSTRUCTED TEMPLE OF VESTA.



FIGURE 4. MANY A VISITOR HAS SCANNED THE FORUM FROM THE WEST THROUGH THE SINGLE REMAINING ARCHWAY IN THE TABULARIUM, AFTER TRAVERSING THE LENGTH OF THAT CURIOUS PASSAGE IN THE FRONT OF THE VENERABLE BUILDING. BEHIND THE SCAFFOLDING WE CAN SEE STILL OTHERS OF THE ELEVEN ARCHES BEING RELEASED. IMAGINING AWAY THE TOP STORIES, IT IS EASY FOR US TO PICTURE CICERO WALKING ALONG THE ARCHED CORRIDOR LOOKING OUT OVER AN EARLIER VERSION OF THE FORUM.

• A STROLL AROUND THE FORUM •

FIGURE 6. THE CURIA ONCE MORE, THE METAMORPHOSIS FROM THE CHURCH OF SAN ADRIANO COMPLETED! COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL BRONZE DOORS SWING TO ADMIT US. THE LOFTY CHAMBER IS IMPRESSIVE, THE LIGHT FROM THE HIGH WINDOWS PLEASANT. THE FLOOR HAS AN ELABORATE DESIGN IN GREEN, RED, AND YELLOW MARBLES. AT THE FAR END SAT THE PRESIDING OFFICER, DOORS ON RIGHT AND LEFT. THE SENATORS WERE APPARENTLY IN THREE ROWS ALONG EACH SIDE, ON PLATFORMS OF VARYING HEIGHT. —————>



FIGURE 5. IN THE 1935 PICTURE THE SOIL IN FRONT OF THE OPEN ARCHWAY OF THE TABULARIUM LOOKS RELATIVELY UNTRUBLED. THE 1939 PHOTOGRAPHS SHOW A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF PRYING UNDER THE SURFACE WHERE IN OLDEN DAYS STOOD THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD. PLATNER-ASHBY SAYS THAT THIS IS "PROBABLY THE OLDEST KNOWN CONCRETE IN THE CITY." WILL THEY BURY IT AGAIN?



SEE LEGEND AT LEFT



FIGURE 7. STILL COVERED IN 1935, THE ARGILETUM COMES TO LIGHT, THAT IMPORTANT STREET LEADING OUT OF THE FORUM BETWEEN THE CURIA AND THE BASILICA AEMILIA. THE STEEPNESS REMINDS US THAT THE FORUM, EVEN WITH THE ANCIENT LEVELS, LAY IN A HOLLOW. THE ARGILETUM PASSED THROUGH THE FORUM OF NERVA ON THE NORTH, CALLED ALSO THE FORUM TRANSITORIUM, THEN RESUMED ITS NAME AND ITS WAY INTO THE SUBURA.

• A STROLL AROUND THE FORUM •

FIGURE 9. THESE STEPS ON THE EAST END OF THE BASILICA HAVE NOT BEEN IN SIGHT LONG. THE MAPS AVAILABLE GIVE NO HINT OF THEM. LITTLE BY LITTLE DETAILS GROW CLEAR. MR. MAGOFFIN IN HIS BOOKLET ON THE FORUM (1927) REMINDED US THAT AS LATE AS 1787 GOETHE WALKED BETWEEN THE ROWS OF ELMS IN FRONT OF WHERE THE BASILICA HAD STOOD, QUITE UNAWARE THAT THE FORUM LAY BENEATH! —————>



FIGURE 8. THE LAST THREE PICTURES SUGGEST THE WORK BEING DONE ON THE BASILICA AEMILIA. IN 1939 COLUMNS LAY TOGETHER IN ONE SPOT, CAPITALS IN ANOTHER. HAS THE PATTERN FAMILIAR FROM FORUM MAPS AGAIN TAKEN CLEAR SHAPE: THE PORTICO ALONG THE FORUM SIDE, A ROW OF SHOPS, BEHIND THEM THE GREAT HALL? THE WHOLE FORMED IN PLINY'S TIME ONE OF ROME'S MOST BEAUTIFUL AND ADMIRABLE BUILDINGS.



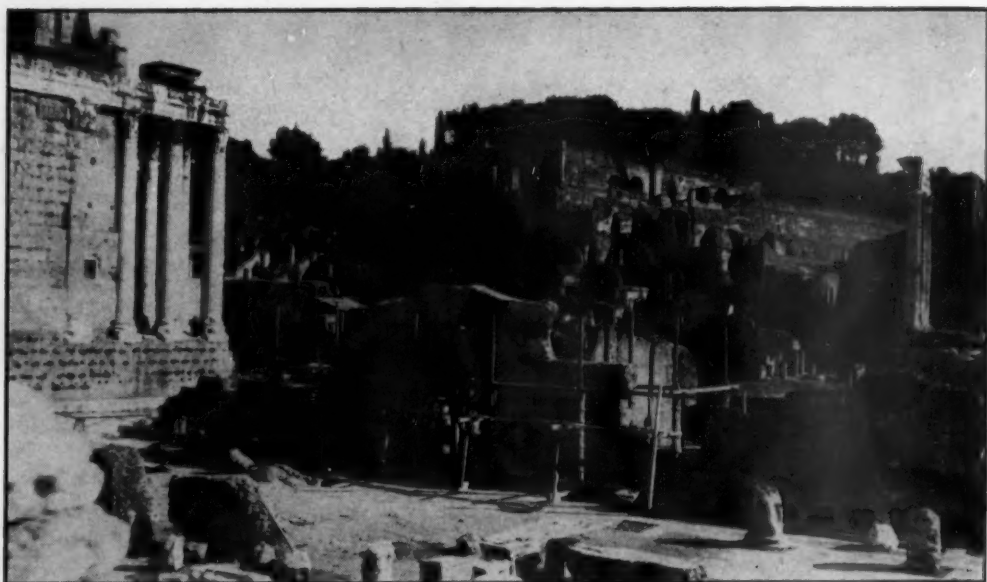


FIGURE 10. WE SEE HERE PART OF THE BASILICA PROPER, OPPOSITE THE SIDE OF THE TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA, WITH ONE OF THE ARCHED ENTRANCES FROM THE FORUM. OUT OF OUR SIGHT, ON THE FRONT, FACING THE FORUM, HAS BEEN RE-ERECTED A FINELY CUT INSCRIPTION LONG LYING ON THE GROUND, TO LUCIUS CAESAR, GRANDSON OF THE DEIFIED AUGUSTUS, PRINCEPS INVENTUTIS. AGAIN WE LOOK UP TO THE PALATINE!

ROME BETWEEN TWO WARS

Rome is to be accessible again; this summer Professor Henry T. Rowell of The Johns Hopkins University will lead a new generation of summer-session students through the sacred ways, and plans are to have the American Academy in Rome back in full operation next fall. Thereafter we may hope for a steady flow of Roman articles and photographs from students in residence there. In the meantime, we asked Dr. Shirley Smith, Professor of Classics at New Jersey College for Women and a frequent visitor (1925, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939) to Rome, to permit us to publish an album of her photographs of the Forum Romanum as it appeared just before the curtain fell, and to prepare explanatory captions. From them, we hope that students who will attend the summer session have obtained a foretaste of what they are going to see; and those who stay home will wish they were going too.

More

Rambles Among Latin Inscription

A. E. Gordon

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS mirror the daily life of the Romans, showing them informally and off-guard. They console the student, who finds the Roman even making the same mistakes in Latin that trouble us today.

We present here a continuation of Professor A. E. Gordon's interesting article in the December issue, with additional happily chosen inscriptions and comments.—Ed.

- (16) Anicia P(ubli) l(iberta) Glucera. Fui, dixi de vita mea; satis fui probata quae viro placui bono, qui me ab imo ordine ad summum perduxit honorem 1071 = Buech. 66 (Same place. Pleasing her good man, who had brought her up from slavery, she had done enough.)

- (17) A variation of the usual *Sit tibi terra levis* ("May the earth rest light upon you!"): *Te, lapis, optestor leviter super ossa quiescas et mediae aetati ne gravis esse velis* (1493 = Buech. 1472. Same place. Note the indication that b before t was pronounced p.)

- (18) (doves and Christian monogram) *Hic mores (h)ominum et vita laudabilis probatur. Valentinianus sibi et Athenodore dulcissime coniugi domum eterna(m) fecit; idem Valentinianus legenti dixit, "Divitias (h)abes: frueri. Si non potis, dona. Si nec hoc potis, quid facis at superus, homo qui nescis vivere?"* (1712 = Lommatzsch 2192 = Diehl 4725. Same place. at superus is ad superos, "on earth." "Here is where man's goodness of life and character gets its test and approval.")

- (19) "Saxo vivo inscripta in monte della Croce (Pleckenalpe) in latere quod ad Italiam vergit, ad ipsam viam, quae hodie in usu est, in loco qui dicitur Mercato vecchio, paulo plus hora dimidia a summo monte . . .": *Munificentia d(ominorum) Aug(ustorum)que n(ost)rorum) hoc iter ubi homines et animalia cum*

periculo commeabant apertum est . . . (A.D. 373) 1862 = Dessau 5885 (A pass in the Carnic Alps, on the Italo-Austrian frontier, used from the earliest times.)

- (20) For its last line:

Festio Papiri Prisci delic.
Parva sub hoc titulo Festi sunt ossa, lapillo quae maerens fato condidit ipse pater.
Qui si vixisset, domini iam nomina ferret.
Hunc casus putei detulit ad cineres.
(2417 = Buech. 1157. Ferrara. Line 1 should perhaps read *Festi Q. Papiri Prisci delic(ati).*)

- (21) Exclusive burial: *Fl(avius) Alatancus domestic(icus) cum coniuge sua Bitorta arcam de prop(ri)io suo sibi co(m)paraverunt. Petimus omnem clerum et cuncta(m) fraternitatem ut nullus de genere nostro vel aliquis in hac sepultura ponatur. Scriptum est: quod tibi fieri non vis, alio ne feceris.* 8738 = Dessau 8257 = Diehl 476 (Concordia, northeast of Venice. *domesticus* is a late term, indicating either an Imperial guardsman or a magistrate's servant or attendant. *alio* is dative.)

- (22) Almost too good for this world: *D(is) m(anibus) M. Camulei Zosimi; vix(it) ann(is) XXVIII. Fecit patronus lib(erto) bene merenti. Hic in vita sua nulli maledixit, sine voluntate patroni nihil fecit, multum ponderis auri arg(enti) penes eum semper fuit, concupiit ex eo nihil umquam. Hic artem (sic) caelatura Clodiana evicit omnes.*

VI 9222 = Dessau 7695
(Rome. *Dis manibus*: "To the departed Spirit . . ." *caelatura Clodiana* was a kind of silver-engraving.)

- (23) The height of femininity: *D. m. Praecedere voluisti, sanctissima co(n)iux, ut me relinqueres in lachrimis. Si est aliquis in infernas partes, bene; ego autem sine te vitam sordidam exigo. Esto felix et ibi, dulcissima Thalassia, educatrix c(larissimi)*

v(iri) et mihi in conuivio per annos XXXX.
Papirius Vitalis arte pictoria maritus eius,
feminae incomparabili, fecit sibi et suis.

9792 = Dessau 7674

(Rome. Thalassia had brought up a boy, grown up by now, of senatorial rank. Her husband's use of the plain ablative to denote his means of livelihood is interesting: why not just pictor?)

- (24) Dis man. P. Caulius Syntrophus hic situs est, vix(it) an(nis) L sine crimine vitae. Vos ego nunc moneo semper qui vivitis auare:

nudus natur(a) fueras a matre creatus,
nudus eris; obitis gratia nulla datur . . .

(14618 = Buech. 1494. Rome. Note the change from plural to singular in the admonition.)

- (25) All in the same boat: Ti. Claudius ɔ. l(ibertus) Primus Tonniae ɔ. l(ibertae) Primae coniugi iucundissimae. Si pro virtute et animo fortunam habuissem, magnificum monumentum hic aedificassem tibi. Nunc, quoniam omnes mortui idem sapimus, satis est. (15225 Rome. ɔ = Gaiae and simply means "of a woman." "But as it is, since we all, when dead, are in the same boat, this will do.")

- (26) Wine, Women, and Song: V(ixit) an(nis) LII. D(is) m(anibus) Ti. Claudi Secundi; hic secum habet omnia.

Balnea, vina, Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra, set vitam faciunt b. v. V.

Karo contubernali(i) fec(it) Merope Caes(aris serva) et sibi et suis p(osterisque) e(orum).

15258 Buench. 1499 = Dessau 8157

(Rome. B.v.V. occurs elsewhere. set is not uncommon.)

- (27) Of Republican date; Buecheler thought of the Gracchan period:

Hospes, quod deico paullum est; asta ac pellege.

Heic est sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrae feminae:

nomen parentes nominarunt Claudiam.

Suom mareitum corde deilexit sovo,

gnatos duos creavit; horunc alterum

in terra linquit, alium sub terra locat.

Sermone lepido, tum autem inessu commodo; domum servavit, lanam fecit. Dixi. Abei.

(15346 = Buech. 52 = Dessau 8403. Rome. Iambic senarii: hospēs quod deico, etc.)

- (28) A little strong for an octogenarian: D. m. T. Flavius Martialis hic situs est.

"Quod edi, bibi, mecum habeo; quod reliqui, perdi." (18131 = Buech. 244 = Dessau 8155^a. Rome.

The second line seems intended for a trochaic septenarius despite the first foot.)

- (29) Red-headed tomboy:

Geminae Agathe "Matri" dulcissimae.

Mater nomen eram, mater non lege futura; quinque etenim solos annos vixisse fatebor, et menses septem, diebus cum vi(g)inti duobus.

Dum vixi, lusi; sum cunctis semper amata, nam pueri voltum, non femin(a)e, crede, gerebam,

quam soli norant Agathen, qui me genuerunt;

ingenio docili, forma pulchra ac veneranda, rufa coma, tonso capite, postrema (sic) remisso.

Convivae cuncti, nunc mi bona pocula ferte, diciteque ut semper meo corpori terra levis sit! etc.

(19007 = Buech. 562. Rome. Line 9, end: "crine postreme capitis remisso," Bormann; "remisso quamquam suspensum est e capite spectat ad capillum. occiput crines habuit nullo modo virginali redimitos sed solutos," Buecheler.)

- (30) Memmia ɔ. l(iberta) Anna.

Ac veluti formosa rosast, cum tempore prodit,

arescit certo tempore deinde suo,

sic tu coepisti primo formossa, Anna, videri,

tempore sed subito desinis esse mea.

Hoc Stabilis tuus cheu, quo possum, munere parvo

prosequor atque opto: sit tibi terra levis!

(22377 = Buech. 1040. Rome. Anna had been the slave of a woman named Memmia. For the meter the second Anna should be deleted.)

- (31) Memoriae M. Noni Placidi, v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVII, m(ensibus) VIII, d(iebus) XII. Ab anno aetatis suae XII, oculis patentibus, vidit nihil. Nonii Placidus et Severin(a) parentes filio b(ene) m(erenti) (23033 = Dessau. 8479. Rome. bene merenti is another formula, extremely common.)

- (32) Scaterius Celer. Nil sumus et fuimus mortales; despice, lector, in nihil ab nichilo quam cito recidimus, etc.

(26003 = Buench. 1495. Rome. despice should

perhaps be *respicere*. *nichilo* exemplifies a phenomenon much commoner in the MSS than in the inscriptions.)

- (33) For all dog-lovers:

*Gallia me genuit, nomen mihi divitis undae
concha dedit, formae nominis aptus
honos.*

*Docta per incertas audax discurrere silvas
collibus hirsutas atque agitare feras,
non gravibus vinclis unquam consueta te-
neri*

verbera nec niveo corpore saeva pati.

Molli namque sinu domini dominaeque iacebam

*et noram in strato lassa cubare toro
et plus quam licuit muto canis ore loquebar:
nulli latratus pertimere meos.*

*Sed iam fata subii partu iactata sinistro,
quam nunc sub parvo marmore terra tegit.*

Margarita 29896 = Buech. 1175

(Rome; now in London—or at least in 1894.

The name also of the *catella nigra* atque indecenter pinguis that came to grief in Petronius 64, 6–10. Buecheler mentions the *catuli et catellae Gallicanae nobiles* of Catullus 42, 9; Ovid, *Met.* 1 533; Martial xiv 198, etc.)

- (34) The strength of the Classics: *Dalmatio filio dulcissimo totius ingeniositatis ac sapientiae puero, quem plenis septem annis perfrui patri infelici non licuit; qui, studens literas Graecas, non monstratas sibi Latinas adripuit et in triduo ereptus est rebus humanis IIII d. Fer. (for III id. Feb.). Natus VIII Kal. Apr. Dalmatius pater fecit*

33929

(Rome. While studying Greek at the age of seven, he seized upon Latin, in which he had not yet had any instruction; the two together were too much for him: he lasted less than 3 days!)

- (35) I mention the famous *Laudatio Turiae* (C.I.L. vi 1527, 31670, 37053 = Dessau 8393) only to point out the interesting account of it in Warde Fowler's *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* and the fact that it was the basis of Gertrude Atherton's *Horace novel, Golden Peacock*.

- (36) *D. m. Euhelpisti lib(erti), qui et Manes; vixit annis XXVII, mens. IIII, dieb. XI, florentes annos mors subita eripuit, anima innocentissima, quem medici secarunt*

et occiderunt. P. Aelius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Peculiaris alumno suo.

(37337 = Dessau 9441 = Lommatzsch 2140. Rome. *Manes* was the poor fellow's *signum*, sobriquet or nickname.)

- (37) One of the few inscriptions in C.I.L. vii of general interest (pace *Britannorum*), the rest being a mangy lot deformed by a profusion of ligatures. On an altar found in 1747 near Stanhope, county of Durham, "on the moors," and preserved "in the Rector of Stanhope's garden": *Silvano Invicto sac(rum). C. Tetius Veturius Micianus praef(ectus) alae Sebosianae ob aprum eximiae formae captum, quem multi antecessores eius praedari non potuerunt, v(oto) s(olutus) l(ibens) p(osuit)* vii 451 = Dessau 3562 (In *The Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942) 115, no. 2, R. P. Wright observes that the cavalry officer not only was boastful of his prowess, "but also did not hesitate to deface a dedication to the divinities of the emperors in order to record the fact."

- (38) This rests only on MS authority (16th century) and, though accepted as *bona fide* by Mommsen, was somewhat suspected by Buecheler:

*Portavi lacrimis madidus te, nostra catella,
quod feci lustris laetior ante tribus.*

Ergo mihi, Patrice, iam non dabis oscula mille

nec poteris collo grata cubare meo.

*Tristis marmorea posui te sede merentem
et iunxi semper manib(us) ipsa meis.*

Morib(us) argutis hominem simulare paratam

perdidimus, quales hei mihi delicias!

*Tu, dulcis Patrice, nostras attingere mensas
consueras, gremio poscere blanda cibos,*

*lambere tu calicem lingua rapiente solebas,
quem tibi saepe meae sustinere manus,*

accipere et lassum cauda gaudente frequenter . . .

(x 658 = Buech. 1176. *Salemum*. Line 6, *manibus* is dative, from *manes*. Note the rare name *Patricē*, anapaestic.)

- (38) A rival of Catullus 3, from Aquitania:
*Quam dulcis fuit ista, quam benigna,
quae cum viveret in sinu iacebat,
somni conscia semper et cubilis.
O factum male, Myia, quod peristi!
Latreres modo si quis adcubaret
rivalis dominae, licentiosa.*

O factum male, Myia, quod peristi!
Altum iam tenet insciam sepulcrum,
nec seuire potes nec insilire,
nec blandis mihi morsib(us) renides

(XIII 488 = Buech. 1512. *Eliumberrum*, modern Auch. Hendecasyllables; cf. also Martial I 109.)

- (40) A tragic note: *D. m. et quieti aeternae Iuliae Maianae feminae sanctissimae, manu mariti crudelissimi(i or a) interfect(ae); quae ante obit quam fatum dedit; cum quo vix. ann. XXVIII, ex quo liber(os) procreau(it) duos—puerum ann(or)um XVIII, puellam annor. XVIII. O fides, O pietas! Iul(ius) Maior frater sorori dulciss(imae) et I(ng)enuinius Ianuarius fil(ius) eius p(onendum) c(uraverunt) et sub a(scia) d(edicaverunt)* 2182

= Dessau 8512

(Lyons. The meaning of the last phrase, *sub ascia dedicare*, is much disputed and uncertain. It is one form of a formula often found on tombstones in or near Lyons, in Celtic Gaul, and seems to mean literally, "dedicate under the axe, or adze" (hardly "trowel," as Harper's has it, s. v. *ascia*: the *ascia* is often pictured on the stone.) Sandys, who has a good brief account (pp. 78-82, with an illustration), suggested that this is "the local equivalent of the Roman formula, *hoc monumentum heredem exterum non sequetur*" and was intended to reserve the monument for a definite person or persons, from the time of the first hewing-out of the stone.)

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

ATLANTIC MONTHLY 178 (1946).—(November: 75-79) Sir Richard Livingstone, "Education for the Modern World." Programs of education based primarily on either the social or the natural sciences have serious shortcomings, despite the obvious pertinence of these fields of study to the modern world. In contrast with these two types even "the education given under the old classical curriculum . . . contained more of the vitamins which the mind and spirit require . . . this education, with all its weaknesses, was infinitely better . . ." Its narrowness was not necessarily unhealthy, for it satisfied two important educational principles—thoroughness and greatness. But, it will be asked, "what have Greek and Latin to do with the twentieth century? I might reply that, with Christianity, they are its makers, and that a knowledge of the parents is a considerable help to knowing a child. I might say that fifth- and fourth-century Athens and Imperial Rome, in quite different ways, throw more light on our spiritual problems than any other ages, because they have more in common with us . . . As the *Harvard Report* justly says, 'One of the aims of education is to break the stranglehold of the present on the mind.'"

HYGIEIA 24 (1946).—(June: 438-439, 458-461) Howard L. Buck, "It Was Greek to Me." Emphasizing the utility to the scientist of a knowledge of Greek roots: ". . . because of the growing influence of the sciences, the need for some background in the classical tongues is greater now

than it has been before." Numerous illustrations.

MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW 41 (1946).—(October: 362-381) A. Lytton Sells, "Reflexions on Stéphane Mallarmé: Some Greek and English Reminiscences."

MODERN PHILOLOGY 44 (1946).—(November: 65-75) James R. Hurlbert, "*Beowulf* and the Classical Epic." When put to an honest test, "*Beowulf* stands comparison with the classical epic better than is commonly admitted.

MUSIC AND LETTERS 27 (1946).—(October: 221-224) D. C. Somervell, "The Bach Passions and Greek Tragedy." A comparison.

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE 90 (1946).—(November: 545-565) Edith Hamilton, "The Roman Way." Excerpts from the author's book with the same title. 14 photographic illustrations and a two-page map. (566-633) Rhys Carpenter, "Ancient Rome Brought to Life." Brief description (567-569) of the accompanying series of 32 full-page colored reproductions of historical paintings of Roman civilization. The paintings, done by H. M. Herget, were "created in intimate collaboration with an archaeologist who is a specialist in the civilization portrayed." Each reproduction is accompanied by a full page of explanatory text. There are, in addition, 2 photographic illustrations and a contour map of central Italy.

PHILOLOGICAL QUARTERLY 25 (1946).—(January: 1-19) Alfred G. Engstrom, "In Defence of

Final Appearance

By Ilanon Moon

A Drama of the Death of a Free Republic

ANNOUNCER

The history of Rome draws so many parallels with our own country that we shudder in remembering how Rome fell.

For centuries, the Roman Republic kept its carefully built safeguards against dictatorship. But there came a time when the self-interests, indolence and incompetence of individual Romans made self-government impossible.

Our play deals with the last phase of that period in the life of the Roman Republic—the period when a few men looked back to Roman freedom with nostalgia. But they were too weak to restore individual liberty. The strong seized power. Men rather than law governed Rome, and the autocrats usurped the rule of “the Senate and the Roman People.”

PLACE AND TIME

Place—Ancient Rome

Time—The Ides of March, 44 B.C.

CHARACTERS

Marcus—Scion of an ancient Republican family

Tullus—His life-long friend

Lucius—Son of Marcus

Dromo—Personal slave to Marcus

Tyndarus—Slave and confidential adviser to Marcus

Dancing girl—A slave

Two musicians—Male slaves

Marcus, scion of an aristocratic family whose name goes back to the earliest days of the Roman Republic, is sixty-five, a senator and a financial force in Rome. His is the face and form of a man whose natural strength and courage have been softened by self-indulgence.

TEXAS LATIN LEAFLET

THE LATIN LEAFLET, dated March 1, 1947, issued by the Department of Classical Languages of the University of Texas, in conjunction with the Texas Classical Association, in the interest of Latin teaching in the high schools of Texas, contains a detailed account of the activities of Latin week, 1946, in that state. The editor, Dr. O. W. Reimuth and his associates, W. J. Battle, H. J. Leon, Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard and Walter H. Juniper (ex officio) are to be congratulated on the best state pamphlet of its kind that we have seen. The opening pages are devoted to some inspiring propaganda for Texas Latin Week, April 21-26, 1947 and to the acknowledgment of contributions received during the past year for the American Academy in Rome Fund. The Leaflet also includes reports on Latin Clubs throughout the State as well as news items about teachers of the Classics. The accompanying playlet by Ilanon Moon, Teacher of Latin at Conroe High School, is reproduced (by permission) from the bulletin.

He is tall, slender, and languid in the manner of those whose powers are dissipated by too much luxury. He is a man of learning and ability whose keenly analytical mind readily discerns the reality of the situation in Rome. His hair is greying. His sharp, dark eyes are lit with humor, and his lips curve upward in a half smile at the joke life plays on humanity. Every movement of his body has the grace and charm of a man of the world. He is wearing the toga and sandals.

Tullus is a senator with an aristocratic

name as old and honored as that of Marcus. They have been life-long friends. He is of about the same age as Marcus and has the same urbane manner. His protruding girth is the natural accompaniment to his pompous self-esteem. He, too, is greying, but is not so calm and poised as his friend. Always a weaker man than Marcus, he has the life-time habit of deluding himself, avoiding responsibility, and raging at the world in general. He wears the toga and sandals.

Lucius, son of Marcus, is a stalwart youth of about seventeen, deferent to this father, and a hero-worshipper whose idol is Caesar. His hair and eyes are dark. He wears the toga praetexta (white toga with an elaborately embroidered purple hem) and sandals.

Dromo, Marcus' personal Greek slave, is about forty-five, with light brown hair and eyes. He wears a straight green costume with a few skimpy gathers in the back of the waist. The hem of the skirt strikes him half-way between the hips and the knees. The sleeves are butterfly, narrow and very short. The neck is low and either round or V-shaped. Dromo always stands near Marcus in order to minister to his every need. He never moves away from his master until told to do so.

Tyndarus, venerable Greek philosopher and teacher is a slave with an elevated position,—a kind of intellectual companion to Marcus. He is seventy with a shock of white hair. The hem of his yellow, full robe strikes him about three inches below the knees. An inside cord gathers it at the waist and ties at the side. It has a square neck and elbow-length butterfly sleeves.

The young slave dancing girl is dressed in the long, transparent, flowing robes of the Greek dancer.

The two youthful male slaves who play for her are dressed in the same color and style as Dromo. They play lyres. (The lyres are mere stage properties with the players touching noiseless strings while the piano, orchestra, or even a record furnishes the music off stage.)

The scene is in front of a huge sun-curtain in the peristylum of Marcus' mansion. A large figured rug is a fair representation of the mosaic floor.

Up stage at extreme left is a statue on a pedestal. On the floor at the base of the pedestal are several potted palms or other plants. In front of the plants is a stool. At the right of the stool and slightly down stage is a round book container with several scrolls in it.

Up stage at extreme right is a narrow, rectangular table on which stands a bust of some hero of the Republic. (A very good imitation of a marble bust can be made by drawing the bust on white poster board, cutting it out and propping it upright.)

Up stage at center is a large high-backed chair with arms. At its left is a small table on which are lying several scrolls.

In center stage at right is a low-backed chair with arms. Behind this chair at extreme right down stage is a bench large enough for the two musicians to occupy while playing.

Potted plants and bouquets of flowers may be used anywhere they can be artistically arranged.

When the curtain rises, Marcus is seated in the high-backed chair at center up stage with a scroll in his hands reading with obvious pleasure. Dromo stands behind his chair at his right furtively trying to read the scroll over his shoulder.

A slave (one of the musicians) enters at right.

SLAVE—(Bows low) The noble Tullus to see the noble Marcus.

MARCUS—Looks up from scroll. (Carelessly) Send him in. (He holds the scroll out languidly in his right hand)

Dromo takes it, rolls it carefully, walks behind the chair and places it on the table with the other scrolls, then resumes his place behind the chair. During the following scene he stands there and looks straight ahead as if not hearing a word that is said.

Tullus enters at right obviously in a state of agitation. Marcus rises from his chair and steps forward smiling.

TULLUS—(In outraged indignation, without a word of greeting, bursts into his tirade) So, the Senate made Caesar dictator for life.

MARCUS—(Calmly) Yes. While you and your friends were lolling on the beach at Tarentum getting your winter coat of tan, Caesar was making himself master of Rome.

Tullus paces up and down, his rancor increasing with every word. Marcus stands watching him with an air of cool detachment.

TULLUS—First he's temporary dictator. Three years later, he's appointed dictator for ten years. But he can't even wait for the ten years to expire. Before two years are up, he gets himself made dictator for life.

MARCUS—*(Strolls to his chair, sits down, and addresses Tullus in a soothingly facetious tone)* At your age, Tullus, a man shouldn't get so excited. It's bad for the blood pressure. Sit down.

TULLUS—*(Points an enraged finger at him)* Gaius Julius Caesar has killed our free constitutional government. *(Walks belligerently to the chair at right and sits down)* The stench of the dead republic ascends to Olympus and offends the very nostrils of the gods.

MARCUS—*(Quietly emphatic)* A dictator, my dear Tullus, is not the cause, but the result of a dead republic. The only way to have preserved the Republic was to keep the virtues upon which it was founded. *(Leans forward sarcastically)* Remember the old Roman virtues of piety, sincerity, and simplicity?

TULLUS—*(Impatiently)* You're philosophizing, Marcus.

MARCUS—*(Coolly)* Perhaps. But tell me this: Do you believe in the gods?

TULLUS—*(Exasperated)* Certainly not.

MARCUS—*(Quietly)* The founders of the Republic did.

TULLUS—*(Annoyed)* That's beside the point.

MARCUS—*(Firmly)* It is not beside the point. As long as a nation clings to the religion upon which it was built, that nation stands. A few agnostics among the intelligentsia are of little importance. But when the majority of people no longer believe in their religion, their civilization is doomed.

Tullus taps his fingers irritably on the arms of his chair.

MARCUS—*(Relentlessly)* And what about that good old Roman virtue of sincerity?

TULLUS—*(Leans forward and storms)* Now don't bring up that election. *(Marcus smiles cynically)* Caesar and his gang started the whole business.

MARCUS—*(Sarcastically)* But you and Cato—buying votes all the time—raged against the degradation of the ballot.

TULLUS—*(Abashed)* It was the only way to—

MARCUS—*(Raises a languid hand to stop him)* But were you sincere? *(Tullus looks away and taps his fingers again on the arms of the chair.)*

MARCUS—*(Pressing the point)* And what about simplicity?

TULLUS—*(Accusingly)* I don't see how you can harp on that. *(Sarcastically. Waves his hand around the peristylum)* You sit in all the luxurious splendor of an oriental potentate and ask me if I cling to old Roman simplicity.

MARCUS—*(Cynically)* Unlike you, my dear Tullus, I admit being a party to the murder of the Republic. And, unlike you, I accept dictatorship as the only substitute for the spirit of freedom in a people too incompetent and indolent to govern themselves.

TULLUS—But Caesar—

MARCUS—*(Ignoring interruption)* You remember that Caesar was first made dictator as the only solution to a constitutional deadlock—a deadlock created by the flight of the Senate.

TULLUS—*(Petulantly)* And it was Caesar's threat that caused the flight.

MARCUS—*(Scornfully)* Time was when Roman senators didn't run from danger.

Tullus rises from his chair and paces across the floor in front of Marcus who remains in his chair with perfect equanimity.

TULLUS—*(Agitated)* It's unconstitutional.

MARCUS—*(Laughs shortly)* The constitution has been pushed aside so many times in recent years that it's no longer in anybody's way. We've been governed for years not by law, but by men.

TULLUS—*(Walks resolutely back to his chair and sits down with an air of pompous authority)* The Senate must do something about it.

MARCUS—*(Mockingly)* The Senate! The Senate is impotent, shamelessly incompetent and venal. It has no policy except the stuffed purse. The Senate is for sale.

TULLUS—*(Straightening indignantly)* You

forget, Marcus, that you and I are senators.

MARCUS—(*Impersonally*) No, I don't. If there were only two of us, the body of the Republic could absorb the poison. (*Nonchalantly*) But we're only two small festers in the vile corruption of self-seeking politicians.

TULLUS—(*Bristling defensively*) We're — —

MARCUS—(*Leaning forward and narrowing his eyes*) Didn't the Senate Investigating Committee try to prove that you shared in thirty millions of illegal war profits made by a certain business agent?

TULLUS—(*Furiously indignant*) I didn't make any more out of the last war than you did.

MARCUS—(*Leaning back in his chair and smiling cynically*) But you were too greedy. I divided with the Investigating Committee.

Tullus leans back tensely in his chair, his hands gripping the arms tightly.

MARCUS—(*Coolly*) Did you ever hear of one Jugurtha who bought impunity from the Senate and freedom to make war on Rome again?

Tullus nods grudgingly.

MARCUS—Do you remember his remark about those (*disdainfully*) noble senators who took his bribes?

TULLUS—(*Impatiently*) I'm not a scholar like you. How should I remember?

MARCUS—(*Evenly*) As he left Rome, Jugurtha turned back, looked thoughtfully at its splendor and said, "O city for sale and doomed to find a purchaser." Caesar is merely the purchaser.

TULLUS—(*Furious again. Jumps up and walks behind his chair*) At the Lupercalia, Antony tried to place the crown on his head.

MARCUS—(*Carelessly*) Antony was drunk.

TULLUS—But only on liquor. Caesar is drunk with power.

MARCUS—And the rest of us with sloth and indifference. For years our liberties have been slipping through our fingers, and we have done nothing about it.

TULLUS—(*Beating the back of the chair with his fist*) But something can still be done about it.

MARCUS—What?

TULLUS—(*Makes a downward thrust with*

an imaginary dagger) A dagger in the dictators' gizzard.

MARCUS—(*Calmly*) That would only murder the dictator. It would not revive constitutional government. How would you do that?

TULLUS—I — er — well — ah — —

MARCUS—(*Emphatically*) You might as well admit it, Tullus. We Romans are afraid of freedom. It's too strong a diet for our jaded appetite.

TULLUS—Under the right conditions, the Roman people will struggle again for their rights.

MARCUS—(*Impatiently*) Nobody but you and old windbags like Cicero even imagine the Republic can be restored.

TULLUS—(*Moves toward him with the air of a conspirator*) Even so, the death of Caesar is our only chance to attempt it.

MARCUS—(*Leans forward and speaks emphatically*) No, that must not happen.

TULLUS—(*Curiously*) Why? Have you suddenly become a Caesar lover?

MARCUS—(*Unwaveringly*) I voted for him.

TULLUS—(*Incredulously*) You voted for Caesar?

MARCUS—(*Looking him straight in the eyes*) Yes.

TULLUS—(*Yelling*) By all the gods, Marcus, I think you have lost your mind.

MARCUS—(*Calmly*) Sit down. I told you excitement was bad for your blood pressure.

TULLUS—(*Outraged*) But why in the name of Jupiter Optimus Maximus did you vote to make Caesar dictator?

Marcus motions with a languid hand toward the chair. Tullus sits down exasperated, waiting impatiently for him to explain himself.

MARCUS—(*Calmly*) I am supporting Caesar as the only form of order now available to Rome. Constitutional self-government has broken down. Liberty has degenerated into license and from license to anarchy. Dissensions among ourselves, rioting in the streets, paralyzed industry, flagging trade, —

TULLUS—(*Belittling the situation*) We've had a few disgruntled veterans and workers making trouble.

MARCUS—(*Emphatically*) A few? The

whole body politic is infected by our stupid economic policy.

TULLUS—(Confidently) The Senate has taken some measures lately to alleviate the situation.

MARCUS—(Scoffing) Government relief and price control? Temporary expedients that merely deepen the canker of our society. (Leans forward in deadly earnest) The truth is, Tullus, that Romans have bartered away their liberties for a bauble called security. For years they have demanded security,—the poor, for their livelihood; the rich, for their investments. (Increasing in fervor) They have howled for government aid to the poor, the rich, to youth, to age, to widows, orphans, soldiers, blonds, brunettes, and red-heads. (Realizing his emotional state, he leans back and subsides) Without realizing, poor fools, that security can be bought only at the price of liberty. Our slaves, Tullus, have security. You and I have not. We have to take the risk of fire, flood, crop failures, collapsing markets, and financial losses.

TULLUS—(Unconvinced) But the people can be aroused.

MARCUS—Not while they howl for security. They can not have both freedom and security. They must choose between them. The power that guarantees freedom from want takes away every other freedom.

TULLUS—(Venomously) But why must that power be the impious, ambitious Caesar?

MARCUS—Caesar is the only one with courage enough to face the situation.

TULLUS—(Scornfully) The situation! The situation requires nothing but — —

MARCUS—(Impatiently interrupting) Statesmanship. Any man with sufficient boldness could have seized the reins of Rome. (Narrowing his eyes) We Romans want somebody to drive us. Marius, Sulla, and Pompey drove us,—they just didn't call it that. It's the name you're balking at.

Bored with the strain of too much serious discussion, Tullus gets up and strolls over to the table at Marcus' left and begins to examine the scrolls on it.

MARCUS—(Turns to him and continues) But Caesar has no fear of the palsied Senate.

He is restoring the financial structure, rehabilitating thousands of returned soldiers, increasing employment, reviving industry —

TULLUS—(Sarcastically imitating Marcus) He's taxing the togas off our backs.

MARCUS—(Nods and smiles sardonically) The accustomed procedure of dictators. Caesar is performing a necessary service to Rome. He is a great man.

TULLUS—(Sarcastically significant) It would be most unfortunate if he should outlive his greatness. (Picks up a scroll, glances at it, then looks closer) What book is this?

MARCUS—Caesar's Gallic War.

TULLUS—(Shortly) Where's the title page?

Dromo steps from behind Marcus' chair picks out a certain scroll on the table and hands it to him.

TULLUS—(Takes, it, unrolls it, examines it, and remarks sarcastically) Embellished, I see with Caesar's own glowing autograph. The special edition he gave out to his friends.

MARCUS—(Quietly) His friends? I doubt if Caesar has any real friends. He is a solitary figure.

TULLUS—(Casually) What about Brutus?

MARCUS—(Emphatically) Brutus is a vain, shallow egotist, incapable of loyalty.

TULLUS—(Warmly defensive) No, no. You are unjust. Brutus is a great patriot. He is deeply grieved at the autocratic role Caesar has adopted.

MARCUS—Brutus's objections are pique, not patriotism.

TULLUS—(Looking up from the scroll and speaking very positively) The Brutus family is a long line of freedom-loving Romans. (Looks down again at the scroll, drops it carelessly on the table and walks back to his chair) Caesar's prose style is virile and lucid, but his poetry is rotten.

MARCUS—(Smiles) Maybe it will improve.

TULLUS—(Significantly) If he lives to write it.

Lucius enters excitedly from the left.

LUCIUS—Father, listen to this! (He discovers Tullus and stops short) Oh, sorry. Greetings, noble Flaminius, and to you, Father.

TULLUS—(Affably) And to you, Lucius.

MARCUS—(Fondly) Greetings, my son.

LUCIUS—(Politely) Am I intruding?

TULLUS—(Genially) Not at all. Sit down and join us. We were discussing Caesar.

LUCIUS—(Grins enthusiastically and raises his arm) Ave Caesar! World Champion Lady-killer.

TULLUS—(With mock severity) Careful, Lucius. You are talking about the dictator of Rome.

LUCIUS—(Surprised) Talking about him? I'm not talking about him. I'm bragging on him. (The men grin as he sits down on the stool at left) I've seen the Egyptian Queen. She's not bad! Not bad!

TULLUS—(Turns indignantly to Marcus) Cleopatra's presence in Rome is an affront to every decent Roman citizen.

MARCUS—(Indulgently) She's visiting.

TULLUS—(Outraged) Visiting! For a year, —in a palace furnished by Julius Caesar! And he with a wife!

MARCUS—(Coolly) Yes, his fourth wife. (Quizzically) Has infidelity suddenly become unusual or tinted with disgrace in Rome?

TULLUS—But Caesar is a libertine, a debauchee. He has seduced every pretty woman from Sacassene to the farthest borders of Gaul.

LUCIUS—(Admiringly) What a man! You know what his soldiers say as they march into newly conquered territory? (He jumps up from the stool and marches across the room to the rhythm of the lines)

"If your wife is pretty to see
Put her under lock and key.
Caesar's in town."

Tullus watches the performance with a mixture of disgust and pity. Marcus looks on with doting indulgence. Lucius stops at left center and stands during the rest of the scene.

MARCUS—(Tolerantly) I think stories of Caesar's diversions have been greatly exaggerated.

LUCIUS—(Enthusiastically) But his greatness can never be magnified. He's done wonders for Rome and is going to do more.

TULLUS—(Sarcastically significant) If he lives long enough. (He leans to the left of his chair looking upward at the sunshine through the sky-light and suddenly realizes the time)

Marcus, it's time for us to be on our way to the Senate. (Rises) Under no circumstances must we be late to this meeting.

MARCUS—(Languidly) I believe I'll not go today.

TULLUS—What? Not attend a special session called by Caesar.

MARCUS—(Indifferently) What's the use?

TULLUS—(Happily expectant) This meeting promises to be quite exciting.

MARCUS—(Bored) I can't imagine anything exciting in a Senate session.

TULLUS—It could be exciting, surprising, and important. You'd better come along. (He turns and starts toward right)

MARCUS—(Wearily) Lucius will accompany you to the door. My rheumatic knee has been troubling me lately.

TULLUS—(Stops and turns back) I'm sorry. (Brightening) But it will be better soon. Everything is going to be better. (He starts again to exit) Good-bye.

MARCUS—Good-bye.

Lucius follows Tullus out at right.

MARCUS—(Lays his head on the back of his chair and half closes his eyes) Dromo.

DROMO—Yes, Master.

MARCUS—(Slowly and thoughtfully) "A dagger in the dictator's gizzard," "If he lives long enough," "A surprising session of the Senate." Do you suppose Tullus knows more than he told?

DROMO—I'm afraid so, Master.

MARCUS—(Half musing) He has always hated Brutus. Just now, he praised and defended him.

LUCIUS—(Rushing back in from the right and speaking with subdued excitement) Father, what did Tullus mean. Is Caesar in danger?

MARCUS—(Seriously) I'm afraid you have guessed rightly, my son.

LUCIUS—(Determinedly) We must warn Caesar.

MARCUS—Of course. Go yourself. Don't trust the mission to a slave. If you hurry, you can reach him before he enters the Senate chamber.

LUCIUS—I'll hurry all right. (He turns and and rushes out at right)

MARCUS—(Fondly) Good luck, my son.

He relaxes and sits quietly with his arms on the chair staring into space for a moment, then holds out his left hand toward the table. Dromo selects the scroll he was reading when Tullus came in and puts it into his hand, then resumes his place behind the chair trying again to read over his shoulder. Marcus unrolls the scroll, absently scanning the lines, then holds it out languidly in his left hand.

DROMO—(Puts the scroll back on the table and rearranges the scrolls) Perhaps the Master would enjoy the diversion of art? Among the slaves you bought last week is a Grecian girl who dances divinely. (He spreads his hands and taps his fingers together looking upward with an expression of ecstasy)

MARCUS—(Indifferently) Have her sent in. We'll see how she performs. Dromo steps out at right, but is gone only a moment.

Marcus leans his head on the back of the chair and closes his eyes. Dromo returns immediately to his place behind the chair.

MARCUS—Those slaves I bought last week. I'd forgotten all about them. Where did Tyndarus send them?

DROMO—He divided them between six of your country homes, I believe. At right, the two slave musicians enter unobtrusively with lyres in their hands and sit down on the bench. They begin to play. The dancing girl enters from left and does a ballet. Dromo drinks in the beauty of her movements. Marcus looks on languidly through half closed lids. When the dance is finished, she prostrates herself before Marcus.

MARCUS—(Looks her over with considerable interest) Very good, my girl, very good. Do another.

The girl dances again. He watches her with waning interest and when the dance is finished waves her away.

MARCUS—(When the girl prostrates herself before him) That will do (He relaxes again in the chair)

The girl leaves at left; the musicians at right.

MARCUS—Dromo.

DROMO—Yes, Master.

MARCUS—I'm apprehensive about my son's mission to Caesar. I shall be relieved when he returns.

DROMO—(Solicitously) Meantime, perhaps the consolations of philosophy would appeal to my master.

MARCUS—(With a small spark of interest) So it might. Send in Tyndarus.

Dromo leaves at left and is heard off stage relaying the order to another slave.

DROMO—(Off stage) Send Tyndarus to the master.

He returns immediately to his place behind Marcus's chair.

Tyndarus enters from the left. He bows to Marcus with a friendly deference, but not with servility.

MARCUS—(Smiles. He speaks to him always in tones of friendly intimacy) You old rascal, where have you been? I've asked for you a dozen times in the last week.

TYNDARUS—You assigned me, as usual, the grilling task of distributing and orienting the new slave purchase. (Smiles) You forget my age.

MARCUS—(Gently chiding) You've been telling me for thirty years you're too old for anything you didn't want to do. (Motions toward the stool at left) Sit down. My eyes are tired. I want you to read to me.

TYNDARUS—(Sits down on the stool and reaches into the book container picking up the tags on the scrolls and looking at each) Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, Sappho, Homer,—or would you prefer history?

MARCUS—Read Polybius. History better suits my mood. From the lessons of the past we learn to read the future.

Tyndarus nods, picks out a certain scroll, unrolls it and reads:

"There are for all men two ways of improvement, to wit, by one's own disasters or those of others. The former is the more vivid; the latter is the less harmful. — — —The best education for real life, therefore, is the knowledge of affairs which accrues from practical history which alone, without personal hurt, makes men on every occasion and in all circumstances, true judges of the better way.

"In history the end is — —"

MARCUS—(His mind obviously not on the reading, leans forward on the arm of his chair and interrupts) Tyndarus.

Tyndarus stops reading and looks up.

MARCUS—There was a time when Greek democracy was great. The Greeks were free, —now you are—(*Hesitates, hating to refer to his friend's condition of servitude*)

TYNDARUS—(*Finishes for him*) A slave. (*He smiles gratefully*) Although a happy one.

MARCUS—(*Nods abstractedly, turns his head and stares straight ahead, concentrating on the question, and talks as much to himself as to Tyndarus*) But that great democracy,—that great freedom perished. (*Suddenly and anxiously turns back to Tyndarus*) Why?

TYNDARUS—(*Quietly*) Democracy, noble Marcus, is a spirit. It is of the mind and soul. Greek democracy perished from spiritual poverty. (*Smiles and points first to his heart, then to his head*) Our hearts grew hard; our heads soft.

MARCUS—(*Ignores effort of Tyndarus at levity. Still muses*) And the Roman mind and soul,—what about it?

TYNDARUS—I would say that materialism is destroying the Roman Republic. Romans once possessed things. Now things possess the Romans. A surfeit of material possessions drives man to greed and self-destruction. (*Looks around the peristylum and moves his hand in a gesture indicating it all around*) Material grandeur brings physical comforts. It can never satisfy the human soul. (*Points again to heart and head*) Heart and mind—spiritual wealth—that is the strength of a republic.

Marcus nods slowly and bitterly.

Lucius enters from right, breathless, agitated and heart-broken, his voice obviously holding back the tears he is determined to control.

LUCIUS—Father, Father. I was too late.

Caesar had already gone into the Senate chamber. I — —

Marcus raises his hand to stop him. He drops down in the chair at right, props his elbows on his knees and rests his chin in his hands, the very picture of dejection.

MARCUS—(*Calmly to Tyndarus*) You may go, Tyndarus. (*Nods his head backward Dromo*) You too, Dromo.

Tyndarus leaves at left, the scroll still in his hand. Dromo leaves at right. When they are gone, Marcus gets up from his chair and goes to stand beside Lucius.

MARCUS—(*Quietly*) Proceed, my son.

LUCIUS—(*Looking up tragically into his father's face*) I pushed through the crowd into the Senate chamber determined to reach Caesar before he took his seat. A crowd of senators was gathering around him, presenting a petition. At first I couldn't believe what I saw. Then blades were raised and there was blood. Brutus's dagger was the last. The crowd drew back, and there, at the foot of Pompey's statue, lay Caesar—dead! (*He clenches his fists*) His toga was slashed and covered with blood. (*Props his elbows on the arms of the chair and drops his head on his closed fist.*)

MARCUS—(*Stands staring straight ahead, his hand on Lucius's shoulder*) My son, you and I have witnessed the end of the Roman Republic.

SLOW CURTAIN

[If a dancer is not available, the dance and the part of Tyndarus may be left out, and the curtain drawn to denote the passage of time until the return of Lucius.]

GREEK DRAMA IN COLLEGES

EURIPIDES' "Trojan Women" was presented on March 20, 21, 22, by the Theatre Group of Western College at Oxford, Ohio. This eloquent and convincing indictment of war, dealing with events following the fall of Troy, provides excellent material for contemporary presentation. The Western College group used Gilbert Murray's translation.

Less often do we hear of dramas presented in the original Greek, yet on May 18 the Boston College Dramatic Club, under the direction of Father Bonn, S.J., presented the "Alcestis" of Euripides in the original.

—By Goodwin B. Beach

A sketch of a colorful character who spoke Latin as a living language

Arcadius Avellanus

Erasmus Redivivus

IN JUNE 1935 ended in New York City a life devoted to the teaching and propagation of Latin as a living language, a life that began in Esztergom, Hungary, 6, February, 1851. Of Arcadius Avellanus' early life only the meagerest details survive. He was born *Mogyoróssy Arkád*, the Hungarian custom being that the family name precede the given. He made all his studies in Latin, even speaking the language as a child and becoming fluent in it before he learned his mother-tongue. He finished his secondary education in an *alumnium*, probably the Hungarian equivalent of the German *gymnasium*.

SINCE ESZTERGOM lay in the environs of Buda-Pesth, we can feel sure that Avellanus' family, an old one, had not in some isolated corner of the country developed idiosyncratically. Rather, since the population was composed of Hungarian, German, Slovak, Slovene, Serb, Croatian, Rumanian and each was jealous of his own idiom, a neutral medium of intercourse was required. Latin was naturally that medium, especially since it was the country's official language and customarily used in Parliament in order that time consuming translation of speeches might be avoided. (The UN take notice.) Hence for members of a prominent family in a polyglot society a command of this language was requisite. Therefore young Avellanus' education was not unique.

In the course of his studies he became imbued with an all-consuming thirst for knowledge and research—but along his own lines—and an extravagant love of Latin and Latin

literature. Had he lived a few centuries earlier, he would doubtless have been revered as a great teacher and savant. As it was, he was looked upon in this less reverent age as a curiosity. His friends, however, not only accorded him the warmest loyalty and honored him as a great teacher but stood by him despite all criticism. He believed sincerely in the value of Latin as a general, effective and neutral medium of intercourse in furthering international amity and understanding and in the dissemination of knowledge. He was convinced that in its literature lay all the elements necessary for acquiring wisdom. He was, however, quite scornful of modern methods of teaching the language. He headed an advertisement of his *Palaestra* with the picture of a toga-clad Roman asking a skin-clad barbarian: "*Scisne Latine, Barbare?*" The barbarian answers: "*Ye-es, to spell, parse and translate, if you write.*" Yet the beneficial effect that his methods might have had was unfortunately marred by his arbitrary, uncompromising and scornful treatment of those that did not agree with him. Of the correctness of his opinions he had never the slightest doubt. He was always ready to support them in the strongest and generally most undiplomatic manner possible. One of his friends told me that according to the Doctor there were but two kinds of people in the world: those that agreed with him and *stultissimi*.

Among his friends he was always known as "the Doctor." According to the title pages of his educational works he bore the

Goodwin B. Beach, sometimes known as "*Bonamicus Actensis*," is a distinguished amateur Latinist, a resident of Hartford, Connecticut. His motto is, "*Nihil est quod Latine dici non potest.*"

titles "Ph.D." and "LITT.D." These, however, do not follow his name in his translations where it appears simply as "Arcadius Avellanus."

He seems to have been very reticent about his early life and to have confided in none of his friends, even those who had known him most intimately for thirty years or more. As in the early days of the West, there seems to have been a convention that personal questions were taboo.

His sacerdotal status always remained an enigma to his friends. Some firmly believed that he had been ordained but subsequently unfrocked. In as much as he had taught where his status would have been known and regularity was essential, this is impossible. Others believed that though he had studied for the priesthood he was never ordained. He let the matter remain an enigma, but I may quote from an unimpeachable source: "... scilicet Arcadium rite ad sacros ordines promotum fuisse; mentis sane infirmitatibus, corporis forte obortis, ipsi a praelato Franciscorum, qui dicuntur, permissum esse ut, habitu religioso exuto, linguam Latinam apud... pueros doceret."

A Law unto Himself

HIS RELIGIOUS beliefs, also, were ever a question among his friends. One intimate wrote: "He was schismatic and rather an atheist, not too pronounced, though." In any event, though he may not have been a dutiful son of the Church, he remained ever respectful and reverential toward her. In his adaptation of Robinson Crusoe he says that he omitted those parts that dealt in seventeenth century "Odium Theologicum." In his hands Robinson was a normally pious individual, studying Latin and Portuguese through the Bible. A clue to the Doctor's own beliefs appears in Chapter 31 of Robinson Crusoe where he is depicted as busy Christianizing some Carib cannibals that he had captured. When they asked him certain questions, he says: "Ea interpretanda non arbitrabar, nolebam enim sinceram et innocentes horum virorum mentes odiis theologicis imbuere, ac praeiudiciis inquinare. Perspectum enim habe-

bam eos credere Deum huius mundi creatorem, Patrem generis humani, Iudicem et Vindicem virtutum et scelerum; sapientissimi Graecorum et Romanorum his notionibus contenti erant, sic et ego." Who can doubt that "ego" is here Arcadius speaking through Robinson's mouth? In fine, probably in his theology as well as in so many other matters he was a law unto himself.

He was first and last a linguist. Besides Latin and Hungarian, which, as I said above, he learned after he was fluent in the former, he spoke English fluently and wrote it with elegance and power. He knew Greek and Hebrew and quoted frequently from original sources of both. He doubtless knew but despised German. He seems to have been acquainted with the Romance languages but to have esteemed them lowly as broken down and rather ridiculous Latin. He claimed, furthermore, to have taught himself several Oriental languages, without, however, specifying which.

He is said to have arrived in this country in 1878,¹ but the record of the next eight years is quite obscure. In 1886 he had printed in Alleghany, N. Y., under his name as Prof. A. J. Mogyrosi, a pamphlet entitled *The Reprobation of Yisroel*.² Although this is listed as a piece of anti-Semitic literature, it is not such, at least in the modern sense. The argument of this pamphlet supported by quotations from various philosophers and with reference to the great prophets is that reliance on the "wisdom" of the "Wise Men of the Jews" as given in the Talmud led the Jews away from the true wisdom of the prophets and caused all their later disasters.

Early Teaching Career

ABOUT SIX YEARS later his career first began taking on that tinge that made him so interesting to classicists. It is also probable that during this period he adopted the name by which he became so well known, Arcadius Avellanus. Doubtless he realized that his family name had for our ears an outlandish sound and that his adopted name, a translation of the Hungarian, not only fell more

sweetly on our ears but breathed an aura of romance. This should be considered his real name, for it was that to which he answered, that by which he was known to the world, few even of his friends seeming to have known what his original name was, though knowing there was such, and finally it was that with which he signed his articles. True, in the libraries, if one look up Avellanus, one is referred to Mogyoróssy, but that is mere librarian's pedantry and modern formality.³ As Avellanus, he taught in Rugby Academy in Philadelphia, later at St. Bonaventure, and St. Mary's in North East, Pennsylvania.

Early Publications

IN 1894 HE BECAME editor of *Praeco Latinus* according to the title page the only Latin periodical on this continent devoted to the propagation of Latin as a spoken language. In 1893 he is reputed⁴ to have begun publication of *Palaestra*, a manual for Latin teachers. If this date be correct, the book must have gone through a number of editions, for the copyrights of the copies that I have seen date from 1911 to 1916 and in numerous letters he describes himself as hard at work finishing various parts, frantically apologizing for delays. It is too bad that lack of space forbids printing completely a pamphlet entitled "What Our Schoolmen Do Not Know." This must have been published in 1916 in connection with experiments with *Palaestra* in a western State University. He explains the title as follows: "The writer meant the LATIN and GREEK LANGUAGES and LETTERS, not the fine so-called classical authors but all the great authors of all great ages. This is precisely the deadline, which is responsible for the decay in education in all the world, in the English-speaking in particular." This answers the question of his choice of Latin models. He did not wish to be confined to the classical period but chose deliberately the Latin of the Empire, particularly of the age of Tiberius and Claudius, and the pronunciation that he asserted to be "Roman Imperial." In a long dissertation in which he quotes numerous writers he concludes that c and g were al-

ways hard, the diphthongs æ and œ were pronounced as long e; th, ph and ch as t'h, p'h and c'h; v as in English. These dicta were thus supported: "Hic fuit sermo vivus Populi Romani ultimus, hunc nos prosequimur, solam enuntiationem legitimam, et historice veram, quandoquidem ipse Populus Romanus, posthabita enuntiatione maiorum, hanc elegit, in hac acquievit ad mortem usque. Quid ergo fingamus nobis in phantasia Romam republicanam (sic), Ciceronianam, delirium ac phantasma ludimagistrorum, quin potius ditemus sermonem Romanum novis vocabulis?"⁵

The Doctor never had any hesitation in speaking Latin anywhere and everywhere, since he claimed that if one persisted in speaking that language, someone would turn up who could understand. What success he had is left to the imagination. Yet he must have had some, for we hear of no recantation.

Though there were many whom the Doctor was forced to consider as stultissimi, his really barbed shafts were reserved for German scholarship. He believed from the bottom of his soul that the Germans had depraved the study of Latin. In a chapter entitled "Orthographia et Etymologia" he says: "Si haec lues philologiae Germanicae etiam in Italia grassatur, quin, quod longe plus est, in ipsa medulla Latinitatis, in Hierarchia Romana, conservatrice priscarum veritatum avitorumque morum bacchatur, iuvabit pestilentiae istius ab altioribus fontibus repetere originem."⁶

Editorial Work

LATER IN A CHAPTER entitled, "Adulteratio Nominum atque Textuum," he says: "Siquid est, cui Philologia Germanica Classica comparari possit, locustae sunt in pratis et segetibus, atque Phylloxera Vastatrix in vineis. Nihil est quod sacrum et inviolabile veretur."⁷ It seems safe to say that he rated German scholarship very low.

Besides editing *Praeco Latinus* and *Palaestra*, he edited the *Colloquia* of Mathurin Cordierius, Calvin's teacher. This was a series of colloquia between master and pupil designed both to edify and exercise the pupil

in question and answer in the living language. He prefaces the work thus: (Arcadius colloquia) *limae castius Latine loquendi subiecit, passim putavit, alias novis colloquiis suffectis auxit, locupletavit etc.*" This indefatigable worker also translated into Latin Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, over 360 octavo pages; *Robinson Crusoe*, 684 pages; *The Adventures of Captain Mago*, over 300 pages. This was originally a French story by Leo Cahun, whose scene was laid 1000 B.C. He continued with Stevenson's *The Sire de Maletroit's Door*; *Fabulae Divales*, among which figure Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp, Beauty and the Beast, Cinderella and others; finally *The Mystery of the Boule Cabinet* by Burton E. Stevenson. These latter reached more than 1100 pages. The purpose, of course, was to offer the pupil material that would induce him to read Latin on his own initiative and make him feel that he had gained some power in the language. As a matter of fact, they are well worth reading by such as can lay hands on copies of the work. They are not difficult and are very entertaining.

Translated Works

THESE TRANSLATIONS were issued as a series as "The Mount Hope Classics" under the patronage and sponsorship of Mr. E. Parmelee Prentice of Williamstown, Mass. Mr. Prentice was once described by the *New Yorker* magazine in an article on the Doctor and his *Societas Gentium Latina* as "a sort of patron of the Doctor."⁸ I have no information how many copies of these works were printed but they are to be found in many college libraries.

Palaestra is a manual arranged to teach Latin as a living language. Through its use the Doctor claimed that young misses (*Herulae*) who previously knew little or no Latin could in seven weeks undergo a rigid examination. He knew of no such thing as an approved word list and most assuredly would have had no truck with one. He expected his pupils to learn any and every word both for daily and extraordinary use.

In *Robinson Crusoe* he made many changes, for he says: "Of course, I could not

follow the author all the way through the book. I followed him for about 130 pages, but then I had to throw out many of the contradictions. For instance, when Robinson is supposed to have on nothing but his underwear, Dr. De Foe makes him put stones in his pocket. Now everybody knows there are no pockets in underwear. That is just one instance. I changed the hero from a cruel, barbarous, domineering individual into a great gentleman."⁹

Master of Latinity

AS TO HIS LATINITY, he was master of a clear, easy style of the period that he chose as his model. At times, however, he lapses into extremely confused constructions and disregards wholly the rules for the sequence of tenses. Occasionally he seems, particularly in translations, to carry English idioms over into Latin. The late Charles H. Forbes of Phillips Academy, Andover, an outstanding, careful and accomplished Latinist, reviewed very unfavorably the translation entitled *Pericula Navarchi Magonis*.¹⁰ Mr. Forbes criticized syntax and vocabulary, although he confessed incidentally to much pleasure in the reading. The proof-reading left much to be desired and Mr. Forbes assigns some errors thereto. He also criticizes the too frequent use of rare words. Here be it said that it is doubtful if anybody lives possessed of the wide Latin vocabulary that the Doctor seems to have had on the tip of his tongue. He had words, even hapax legomena, ready at hand suitable to every situation. Many of these he explained in footnotes, especially when he introduced new words for new things. However, Mr. Forbes' criticism was not wholly unjust, for a careful pruning and revision would have greatly enhanced the attraction of the books for the reader, especially the young, who would then have been surprised at the ease with which they could have read. In trying to account for clumsy constructions and solecisms, since the Doctor was capable of writing good and fluent Latin, I dare say the cause lay in lack of revision. He was not noteworthy for patience. Some of his statements lead me to believe that he was always eager

to be at the next task and therefore did not review his work with enough care or even at all.

Mr. Forbes' criticism was rather satirically received by the Doctor. I find this reference to a discussion of it at a meeting of the *Societas Gentium Latina*: "Monebat Dr. Avellanus unum ex eiusmodi critica (sic) constare, praeceptores nostros nunquam antea librum Latinum vidisse praeter textus sibi ad tractandum praepositos. Nam si omnis liber qui a stylo Ciceronis differret, reiciendus esset, praeter quattuor primores auctores Romanos tota litteratura Latina binum millium annorum flammis esset abolenda: proinde patres Ecclesiae, Scholastici, Biblia Latina, omnia Chronica Monastica, opera Erasmi, Lutheri, Calvini, Philippi Melanchthonis, Capnionis, Hugonis Grotii, Baconum, omnium philologorum, physicorum, astronomorum, uno verbo, omnia opera Latina, omnes bibliothecae essent comburenda. Nemo nisi insaniet, critico eiusmodi adstipulabitur."¹¹

Goal of Classical Study

IN THESE DIVERGENT views lies a question of policy and of the goal of classical study. If we are to follow the Ciceronians and the strict classicists and continue seeking such benefits as may accrue from the study of Latin during such time as we can persuade too few pupils to study the language, then we must continue in our present path, in agreement with Dr. Forbes. Few but will agree that Cicero overtops all others as a master of expression and that it would be a great achievement, could we but bring young people to full appreciation of his style.

If, however, we are to strive to reintroduce Latin as an auxiliary international language, we must admit first of all that we cannot hope to attain the lofty height of expression that was Cicero's. We must also admit that his *sermo cotidianus*, as we find it in his letters, was quite a different mode of expression than that of his orations. Then, like the Doctor, we must accept another style easier of attainment. We shall perhaps accept the Latin of St. Augustine, of Erasmus or of others as our standard, viewing wistfully

the periods of Cicero as in English those of Burke. In that case the Doctor's viewpoint is correct and we must offer our pupils the pabulum that he offered his: standard stories done into Latin that is easy of comprehension and so arouses their interest that they will read for the joy of reading, unconsciously and quickly mastering the language. Meanwhile we shall hope that their own interest will lead them on the mastery of the best.

The *Fabulae Tusculanae*, however, issued for use in teaching by the direct method were not unfavorably reviewed in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 24 (1928-9) 685. Many of the reasons for Dr. Forbes' criticisms seem unfounded when one rereads these textbooks.

Portrait in the "New Yorker"

PROBABLY THE SOURCE of the Doctor's greatest renown was his *Societas Gentium Latina-Intabulata*. It was written up at some length in the *New Yorker* magazine about the time of his seventy-ninth birthday. The article starts: "It was about eighteen years ago that Dr. Arcadius Avellanus of Brooklyn began talking Latin to his buddies Mr. Herbert Cornwell and Dr. Leffingwell Hedge. They used to meet in small restaurants twice a week to speak to each other in Latin. They soon decided that they would invite others so disposed to foregather with them and talk Latin. Now there are twenty of them . . ."¹² Somewhat later I won an invitation to what apparently was one of the last gatherings. The Doctor, greatly irked by the small number present, had no hesitation in expressing his dudgeon that so few had taken the trouble to attend. He spoke but little Latin that evening, but I learned from him Cicero's definition of wisdom so that I have never forgotten it.¹³ He was a large man with close-cropped hair. His aspect was sacerdotal and he wore an air of authority. His speech was rather difficult to understand whether speaking English or Latin, in both of which he spoke rapidly with a thick enunciation (*pingui enuntiatione*). The society met apparently irregularly. The members sometimes read from one of the Doctor's books or listened to a talk by him or by one of the members.

Sometimes they simply conversed. The minutes or *protocolla* were kept in Latin and published.

Reading these *protocolla*, especially those retailing a talk by the Doctor, calls to mind a description of Dr. Johnson and his friends. The range of discourse covered every conceivable subject. He showed a profound acerbity in dealing with conflicting opinions and a Jovian certitude pervades all his statements.

On his eightieth birthday the society tendered him a dinner. The reporters for whom guests translated, naturally overwhelmed at the Doctor's linguistic exhibition, devoted three quarters of a column to the affair.¹⁴ They said that most of the Doctor's remarks were in Latin but that he also spoke in English, Hungarian and German, interlarding for good measure French and Greek. He inveighed particularly against the fresh air fad as being bad for the health.

The Doctor devoted his life to teaching and to the publication of text-books. He was a Roman staunch and stalwart, fearless in promoting his beliefs. Now that the sting of his criticisms and his peculiarities lie so far in the past, his views perhaps should be studied more calmly than was then possible, for in the dispute with the Ciceronians and in adopting the idea of Latin as an auxiliary international language he may very well prove to be the guide needed. Aside from the fact that the proponents of the liberal arts are worried over the plight of Latin, the heightened ability to attain a sympathetic understanding of other peoples that would result from a broader range of Latin reading and a greater mastery of the language, seems to outweigh our present strict adherence to classical standards.

Classical education has need of many such faithful adherents and dreadnought warriors. Ipso igitur in pace requiescente, ex ossibus eius, instar phoenicis, exoriantur propugnatores aequae fideles, aequae intrepidi.

NOTES

[See CLASS. JOURN. 40 (1944-45), 104-106. These amusing anecdotes concerning a would-be Hungarian speaker of Latin reminded the editor of "Notes," as they later did several readers, of Arcadius Avellanus, a real Hungarian speaker of Latin, more respectable but in many ways no less adventurous. We therefore asked Mr. Beach if he would undertake to compose the present memorial, both more informative and more fitting than the brief notice in *Who's Who in America* (vii, 1912-13, s.v. "Avellanus, Arcadius"). Mr. Beach has very kindly consented to do so at the cost of considerable labor and expense to himself. He, in turn, desires us to express his thanks for various items of information to other friends of Dr. Avellanus, and in particular to Mr. E. Parmelee Prentice, Dr. P. J. Downing, Mr. Chandler Davis, and Dr. Edward Chickering, all former members of the *Societas Gentium Latina*.]—Ed.

¹ See the obituary in the *New York Times* for June 19, 1935.

² A copy of this work is available in the New York Public Library.

³ [The Library of Congress catalogs a work published by Mogyoróssy Árkád in 1907 at Washington, D. C. It is a translation into Hungarian of the *Synagoga Judaica* of Johannes Buxtorf the elder, under the title: *A Zsidók a zsinagógában és otthon . . .*. We may add that he would be a hardy bibliographer indeed who should attempt to catalog all the works of Dr. Avellanus, including all their imprints and special editions.]—Ed.

⁴ *Who's Who in America*, vii (1912-13), s.v. "Avellanus, Arcadius."

⁵ *Impressio specialis prooemii ad versionem latinam Insulae Thesauraria: Roberti Ludovici Stevenson* (Brooklyn, 1922), page lx, note 1.

⁶ This and the foregoing are quoted from the *Impressio specialis prooemii . . .* (see above, note 6), page xxxix.

⁷ *Impressio specialis prooemii . . .*, xxxix.

⁸ See below, note 12.

⁹ See the *New York Herald-Tribune* for Feb. 7, 1931, a report of a dinner given the Doctor on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Substantially the same statement appears in the "Proloquium" to this novel.

¹⁰ *Class. Week* 9 (1915-16), 149-151. Compare Forbes' discussion of Dr. Avellanus' methods and Latinity in his article, "Chasing Phantoms in Latin Teaching," *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 9 (1915-16), 25-32. *The Fabulae Tusculanæ*, issued for use in teaching Latin by the direct method, were not unfavorably reviewed by Miss Grace Beede in *THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL* 24 (1928-29), 685 f.

¹¹ *Protocolla e sessione secunda et quadragesima Societatis Gentium Latinae, Intabulata*; for these "Minutes," see below.

¹² *The New Yorker* 3, no. 50 (Feb. 1, 1930).

¹³ *Cic. Disp. Tusc.* 4. 26.

¹⁴ See above note 9.

BOOK REVIEWS

NORWOOD'S PINDAR

NORWOOD, GILBERT, *Pindar*: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press (1945). Pp. 302. \$2.50.

THE REVIEWER who has read carefully for the purposes of his review the present work, at the end of his task, which in the nature of the case involves much labor, lays it down with the exclamation, "What a joy to have been carried through the study of a great poet done with such thoroughness and insight!" For though he must, in fairness to himself and to the work which contains such a wealth of learning, not only enjoy the critic's elucidation of the poet but follow him into his labyrinth of notes to find in some instances the bases of his judgment, he finds the work such a living thing that he can scarcely turn from it. And, if there are many left in this day of declining Greek scholarship who can approach Pindar with any other emotion than fear, the study contained in these lectures should give them hope and courage.

The present reviewer is one of a number which must be small by this time in America who studied Pindar under Gildersleeve. That fact is not hereby made the basis of a claim to the right to review a work on Pindar. Nor does he presume further on the fact that he belongs to an institution where Pindar is still read. But in respect to the first he may say that in his opinion Gildersleeve, exacting critic as he was, would have found great satisfaction in this study; and in respect to the second, that Pindar will be read, whether in the original or in translation, with more intelligence as a result of it.

The author does not attempt to minimize the difficulty of reading and interpreting Pindar. He implies that even in the best days of Classical study Pindar was not studied so much as a poet of his great worth deserves, for he finds that not more than half a dozen great books have been written on him; and from his criticisms scattered throughout the

notes one would suspect that the author would prefer to consider the number smaller.

Norwood's first lecture, "The Approach to Pindar," hints, as is natural, at a good many sides of Pindar study. The matter of translation he looks at first—a timely subject these days when the idea is gaining momentum even with so-called Classicists that the translation may reproduce all that is of first-rate importance in an author; and he shows that in a translation much more of Pindar vanishes than is lost in a translation of Homer or Hesiod. With this opinion he rouses no opposition, but he may elicit a mild protest with his observations on the poet's incidental interests, e.g. his observations "on the poet's 'attitude' to this or that (p. 3)." The test that the author applies to these so-called side-interests,—“What have these details to do with his poetry?”—is a correct one, we feel, but we think at times that they have much to do with his poetry. Of course, if what the poet said is alone important and can be understood apart from the reason why he said it, there is no argument. This idea carried to its logical conclusion would dispense with biography, and the author is conscious of that fact though he gives a brief biography of the poet (p. 9 f.).

With the author's observations on text emendation and the approach to what so many still miscall "scholarly matters," one may venture to be in slight disagreement. He seems to put the case too strongly on page 7, when he likens "The appearance of the *apparatus criticus* at the foot of a fair page of Theocritus to the sight of an open sewer at the end of a gracious promenade." It is true that the *apparatus* might be relegated to the end of the book, but that would cause inconvenience occasionally. And it is tempting to answer that when Sophocles is presented "in tranquil stateliness" one would like to be reasonably certain still that it is Sophocles who

is presented and not some editor who thinks he can supply a better word. Just fresh from a study of the text of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, one is rather glad that he has Tucker and Sidgwick alongside of Murray. This reviewer is not quite ready to subscribe to the idea that the day for textual emendation is to all purposes over. It may be, but if so it will be because Classical scholars are not being trained in sufficient detail for it, and not alone because the need for it is completely past.

The brief biography that the author gives leads him to an observation of the independence of Pindar and the attitude of his clients to him in turn. That Pindar's independence at times did not suit his client the author illustrates by reference to the *First Olympian*. The ode celebrates Hiero's victory with a single racehorse won in 476 B.C. at Olympia. In it the poet expresses a hope that Hiero may later celebrate a victory in the chariot-race. Hiero did win a few years later but gave to Bacchylides the commission to celebrate the victory, presumably because he was disappointed that the earlier poem contained too little about himself and too much about Tantalus and Pelops. Perhaps one has too naively accepted the idea that the recipient of the poem was as conscious of its excellence as we who see it from this distance and was correspondingly satisfied. That his victory was the occasion for celebrating the glories of Olympia and Olympia's games with the myth of the hero who was their founder told in noble manner may have pleased Hiero, and his assigning the second commission to Bacchylides may have depended on other circumstances.

Similarly one does not give up older ideas about Pindar's independence of his client and his insistence on the direction that his praise shall take, after reading what the author says on *Olympia* 13. That the list of victories, significant and insignificant, handed the poet by Xenophon of Corinth, was irksome to the poet and roused in him contempt for his client to such a degree that he makes reference to the virtues of his family in only two brief phrases—"a house gentle to fellow-citizens and at the service of strangers"—would seem

to be substantiated by the tone of the *encomium* prepared for the same Xenophon "for the dedication of a hundred courtesans whom our versatile Corinthian had vowed to Aphrodite if he gained success in the festival" (see p. 20, n. 54). If the poet is showing so much contempt for his client as Norwood implies, it would be only other considerations that would tempt the client to give later commissions.

In *Appendix C* the author deals with the difficult subject of metre and rhythm. To say that he makes the subject easy would be to misstate the fact, but he gives a few simple rules (p. 204) and illustrates them, and the result is at least a more definite system. Of course, he assumes a knowledge of the elementary metres, the epic, the elegiac, the metres of dramatic poetry with the exception of the choric metres, a knowledge, i.e., of iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter. He has to assume tacitly also that the following terms are understood—anacrousis, triseme, tetraseme, rest, with their notation as used by Schmidt. It would seem that greater clearness could have been secured by the addition of the musical values supposed for the different feet as well as the musical notation assumed for a cola or two of the logaoedic and the dactylo-epitrite systems. This would suggest itself from the fact that the author puts down as one of his first rules the attempt to get the "lilt" of the shorter cola, so that by repetition of them one may get the feeling of a larger unit, the stanza or the strophe; for the author draws attention to the fact that the units of division and even single lines are too long at times to permit a sense of the rhythm through to the end.

Two rules which seem to be basic are the author's first two: 1. Read the whole poem aloud, so that the cola already certain (i.e. the short verses) may help to give the lilt. 2. Expect division after a syllable or foot which clearly slows down the rhythm: i.e., $_$ or $_$ or a spondee. With these the subject of Pindar's rhythms seems to be made reasonably simple.

Throughout this work on Pindar one is struck with the independence of the author.

Perhaps in no lecture is he so independent as in those on symbolism. He is careful to say that he is not sure whether the suggestion of interpretation by the study of Pindar's symbolism came originally from Gildersleeve (p. 118, n. 3) who suggests the method as follows: "Pindar's poems are constellations. There are figures in the heavens, a belt, a plough, a chair, a serpent . . . the Phorminx is the name of the constellation called the First Pythian." His readers will agree that he has carried the study "into developments that would have received Gildersleeve's sanc-

tion." Particularly attractive and convincing is his analysis of *Pythia xi* and the symbol of the Bee with his explanation of the obscure line:

ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμει.

It is from a study of this part of the author's lectures that one must draw the conclusion that here is the most illuminating work on Pindar that has appeared.

THOMAS S. DUNCAN

Washington University

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS (Cont'd. from Page 496).

Synaesthesia in Literature." Part III considers the "linguistic importance and earliest appearance" of synaesthesia (the employment of "inter-sensual exchanges," as, e.g., visual images for sounds) "in western literature, among the writers of Greece . . . it is in early Greek poetry that we find the first appearance of synaesthesia in the literature of the West." Examples from Homer, Pindar, Bacchylides, Alcman, Sappho, Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristotle, Theocritus, Asclepiades of Samos.

PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE 13 (1946).—(April: 137-143) Philip E. Jones, "Kant, Euclid, and the Non-Euclidean." Neither Euclidean nor Non-Euclidean geometry was developed empirically: in this respect "there is no real contradiction between the Non-Euclidean and either Kant or Euclid."

QUEEN'S QUARTERLY 53 (1946).—(Autumn: 293-303) Archibald A. Day, "Lucretius After Two Thousand Years." The dilemma of Lucretius, "the earliest writer to produce a popular account of a completely mechanistic and atomic theory of the universe," remains unanswered: "Here is the nature of things—how then shall man live?" (Winter: 438-446) Geoffrey B. Riddehough, "The Hippolytus of Euripides." In this tragedy "Euripides shows us the sight of three human beings in tragic isolation. No one of the three really understands the other two, so that when a situation arises that calls for sympathy, patience, and suspended judgement, disaster comes . . . isolated, they are mercilessly broken, one after the other."

REVIEW OF ENGLISH STUDIES 22 (1946).—(October: 269-281) Norman Callan, "Thyn Owne Book: A Note on Chaucer, Gower and Ovid." A comparison of Chaucer and Gower in their

treatment of Ovid's tale of Pyramus and Thisbe. (289-303) Colin J. Horne, "The Phalaris Controversy: King versus Bentley."

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY 64 (1946).—(October 5: 243) G. Wakeham, "A Reply to Professor Withers's Letter" [in the issue of January 26]. (November 9: 321-323) Mario A. Pei, "Our Job as Language Teachers." The role of the teacher of modern language, in "giving guidance along the road to peace and international friendship." (324-325) Fred S. Dunham, "What Should Be Done to Improve High-School Latin?" This article, the outcome of a panel discussion held at the University of Michigan in the summer session of 1946, concludes with a list of practical recommendations for the teacher of Latin. (333-334) William W. Brickman, "The Latinity of a Linotype Operator."

SEWANEE REVIEW 54 (1946).—(Winter: 103) Mark Van Doren, "Odysseus." A poem about "the broad shouldered lord of rocky Ithaca, Conqueror of brine, Athene's darling . . ."

SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY 46 (1947).—(January: 84-92) Moses Hadas, "The Religion of Plutarch." Plutarch's appeal "lies in his special concern for people . . . He was a lover of mankind, a philanthropos in the fullest sense." His attitude towards women, his appreciation of childhood, and his feeling even for brute creatures are illustrative. His philosophy was Platonist, tending to Neo-Platonism; his God is transcendent and beneficent. But "the real object of Plutarch's devotion . . . was Hellenism; he made a cult of culture and was himself both prophet and high priest of the cult." (93-108) Edouard Roditi, "The Genesis of Neoclassical Tragedy." The Humanist tragedians of sixteenth-century Italy, endeavoring to conform to the

principles of Aristotle's *Poetics*, furnished "the incentive which finally produced the masterpieces of Elizabethan drama and of French neoclassical tragedy." A formal analysis of Trissino's *Sofonisba* (1515), "the first neoclassical tragedy," reveals the Renaissance technique in tragedy.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO QUARTERLY 16 (1946).—(October: 1-16) G. Edison, "Plato and Freud." The essay discusses the Platonic and Freudian views on "the nature of difference or contrariety within the self, . . . the meaning of neurosis, [and] . . . the problem of sublimation." Plato insists that man be described as he is found to be, not as fancy imagines him; and he believes "that no finding is more faithful to the facts than that which shows man to be a moral, not a mechanistic, creature, conscious of genuine differences within himself, yet capable of apprehending, desiring, and at best actually realizing, some ultimate good."

SPAETH

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

AT THE FORTY-FIRST annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England, held at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, March 28-29, the following officers were elected for 1947-48: *President*, Professor Cornelia C. Coulter, Mount Holyoke College; *Vice-President*, Professor Alston H. Chase, Phillips Academy, Andover; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Van L. Johnson, Tufts College (as of May 1, 1947); *additional members of the executive committee*, Professor George V. Kidder, University of Vermont; Miss Ruth I. Stearns, West Hartford High School, Connecticut; Miss Elizabeth C. Bridge, Winsor School, Boston; Professor Edmund T. Silk, Yale University; *Representative of the Council of the American Classical League*, Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University; *Editor for New England on the Editorial Board of THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, Professor James A. Notopoulos, Trinity College.

It was voted to accept the cordial invitation of Amherst College to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at Amherst on April 2 and 3, 1948.

HINT OF THE MONTH

Written with colored crayons on blackboards throughout the school, Latin mottoes often lend a piquancy and bit of mystery to *Latin Week*. The list given below was suggested by Miss Elor Osborn of Waco.

Agriculture—*Serit arbores quae alteri saeclo prosint*

American History—*Annuat coeptis or E pluribus unum*

Art—*Ars artis gratia or Vita brevis, ars longa*

Biology—*Disiecta membra or Rara avis*

Bookkeeping—*Honesta vita melior est pecunia*

Chemistry—*De fumo in flammam*

Clothing—*A capite ad calcem*

Civics—*Justitia omnibus*

Clubs—*Pares cum paribus facillime congregantur*

Dramatics—*Neque histrioni ut placeat peragenda fabula est*

Economics—*Fortuna multis dat nimis, satis nulli*

English—*Studium litterarum est animi remissio liberalissima*

Foods—*Cum grano salis or De gustibus non disputandum*

Geometry—*Quod erat demonstrandum*

Journalism—*Nihil dictum quod non prius dictum*

Music—*Carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes*

Library—*Otium sine litteris mors est*

Physical Education—*Mens sana in corpore sano*

Physics—*Mens agitat molem*

Public Speaking—*Studium immane loquendi or Multa paucis*

Safety Education—*Festina lente*

Salesmanship—*Caveat emptor*

Shop—*Est unus quisque faber ipse fortunae suae*

Spanish—*Matre pulchra filia non pulchrior*

Texas History—*Disciplina praesidium civitatis*

Shorthand—*Verbatim et litteratim*

Study Hall—*Silentium est aureum*

Typing—*Littera scripta manet **

World History—*Ubi libertas cecidit, audet libere nemo loqui*

—From the Texas Latin Leaflet



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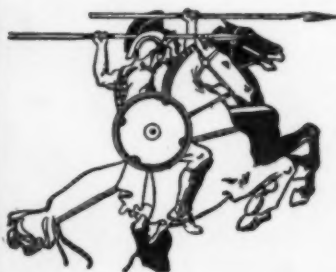
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